This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 06182918 4

BAC

The Landing of Columbus

A.D. 1492.

From Painting by Vanderlyn

THE WORLD'S GREAT EVENTS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN TIMES
B.C. 4004 TO A.D. 1903

By ESTHER SINGLETON

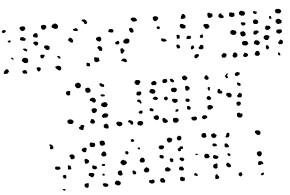
ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS FULL-PAGE DRAWINGS
EXECUTED IN DUOGRAPH

VOLUME THREE—RENAISSANCE
A.D. 1185 TO A.D. 1492

NEW YORK
P. F. COLLIER & SON
MCMIII

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
781280A
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
R 1935 L

Copyright 1903
By P. F. COLLIER & SON



CONTENTS

VOLUME THREE

A.D. 1485—1692

END OF WARS OF THE ROSES (A.D. 1485). David Hume . . . 995
THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA (A.D. 1491). William H. Prescott . 1001
THE JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN (A.D. 1492). Henry Hart Milman 1012
THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA (A.D. 1492). Washington Irving . . 1020
CHARLES VIII. INVADES ITALY (A.D. 1494). J. C. L. de Sismondi . 1031
VOYAGES OF VASCO DA GAMA (A.D. 1497-1499). Richard Henry Major 1043
THE EXECUTION OF SAVONAROLA (A.D. 1498). John Addington Symonds 1054
THE MORISCOS (A.D. 1499-1502). U. R. Burke 1065
LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY (A.D. 1508). J. C. L. de Sismondi 1077
CONQUESTS OF MEXICO AND PERU (A.D. 1510-1535). Charlotte M. Yonge 1090
BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD (A.D. 1513). Andrew Lang 1096
THE REFORMATION (A.D. 1517-1540). William Francis Collier . . 1105
FIRST VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD (A.D. 1519-1522). Richard Henry Major 1118
FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD (A.D. 1520). Charles Knight . . 1128
CHARLES V. CONQUERS ITALY (A.D. 1521-1529). J. C. L. de Sismondi 1135
LIBERATION OF GENOA: ANDREA DORIA (A.D. 1528). G. B. Malleson 1159
SUPPRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES (A.D. 1534). David Hume 1169
THE COUNTER-REFORMATION (A.D. 1540). Richard Lodge . . . 1179
THE REIGN OF AKBAR (A.D. 1556-1605). Edward Augustus Freeman 1191
BATTLE OF ST. QUENTIN AND THE LOSS OF CALAIS (A.D. 1558). Charles Knight 1197

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND (A.D. 1560-1590). James Anthony Froude 1204
MALTA AND LEPANTO (A.D. 1565-1573). Charlotte M. Yonge . . 1220
RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC (A.D. 1568-1648). Richard Lodge 1230
DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA (A.D. 1572-1588). John Richard Green 1246
THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW (A.D. 1572). Richard Lodge 1262
THE LEAGUE (A.D. 1576-1598). W. C. Taylor 1267
THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND AND COLONIZATION OF ULSTER (A.D. 1588-1610). John Richard Green 1283
THE COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA (A.D. 1602-1611). Samuel Rawson Gardiner 1292
THE GUNPOWDER PLOT (A.D. 1605). Charles Knight 1306
THE DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF MANHATTAN ISLAND (A.D. 1609-1628). David T. Valentine 1325
HUDSON'S LAST VOYAGE (A.D. 1610). Hessel Gerritz 1336
SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION (A.D. 1618). David Hume . 1341
THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (A.D. 1618-1648). William Francis Collier 1349
THE VOYAGE OF THE "MAYFLOWER" (A.D. 1620). William Bradford 1363
THE WAR BETWEEN CHARLES I. AND THE PARLIAMENT (A.D. 1642-1646). Thomas Babington Macaulay 1375
LA FRONDE (A.D. 1648-1653). Charlotte M. Yonge 1386
THE EXCLUSION BILL AND HABEAS CORPUS ACT (A.D. 1679). David Hume 1399
THE SIEGE OF VIENNA (A.D. 1683). Charlotte M. Yonge . . . 1404
REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES (A.D. 1685). François Marie Arouet de Voltaire 1413
THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS (A.D. 1688). Thomas Babington Macaulay 1421
THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION (A.D. 1688). John Richard Green . 1439
BATTLE OF THE BOYNE (A.D. 1690). Thomas Babington Macaulay 1450
THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE (A.D. 1692). Thomas Babington Macaulay 1464
THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE (A.D. 1692). Thomas Babington Macaulay 1477

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME THREE

BOABDIL SURRENDERING THE KEYS OF GRANADA TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA (THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA—A.D. 1491). From Painting by Pradilla.

THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS (A.D. 1492). From Painting by Vanderlyn.

THE AGE OF REFORMATION (A.D. 1517-1540). From Painting by Kaulbach.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW (A.D. 1572). After Painting by Debat-Ponsan.

SCENE AT PRAGUE DURING THIRTY YEARS' WAR (A.D. 1618). From Painting by Brozik.

SIGNING OF THE COMPACT IN THE CABIN OF THE "MAYFLOWER" (A.D. 1620). From Painting by White.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU CONDUCTING CINQ-MARS AND DE THOU TO LYONS TO BE BEHEADED (A.D. 1642).

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE (A.D. 1690). From Painting by West.

END OF WARS OF THE ROSES

(A.D. 1485)

DAVID HUME

THE crimes of Richard were so horrid and so shocking to humanity that the natural sentiments of men, without any political or public views, were sufficient to render his government unstable; and every person of probity and honor was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it. All the exiles flocked to the Earl of Richmond in Brittany, and exhorted him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, and to prevent the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, which must prove fatal to all his hopes. The Earl, sensible of the urgent necessity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, who had entered into a negotiation with Richard for betraying him, was obliged to attend only to his present safety; and he made his escape to the Court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII., who had now succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Louis, gave him countenance and protection; and

Richmond receives French encouragement.

Crimes of Richard.

being desirous of raising disturbances to Richard, they secretly encouraged the Earl in the levies which he made for the support of his enterprise upon England. The Earl of Oxford, whom Richard's suspicions had thrown into confinement, having made his escape, here joined Henry; and inflamed his ardor for the attempt, by the favorable accounts which he brought of the dispositions of the English nation, and their universal hatred of Richard's crimes and usurpation.

Richmond's invasion.

The Earl of Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy with a small army of about 2,000 men; and after a navigation of six days, he arrived at Milford-Haven in Wales, where he landed without opposition. He directed his course to that part of the kingdom, in hopes that the Welsh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepossessed in favor of his cause by means of the Duke of Buckingham, would join his standard, and enable him to make head against the established government. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given commissions to different persons in the several counties, whom he empowered to oppose his enemy, he purposed in person to fly on the first alarm to the place exposed to danger. Sir Rice ap-Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert were intrusted with his authority in

Wales; but the former immediately deserted to Henry; the second made but feeble opposition to him: and the Earl, advancing toward Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partisans. Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him, with all the vassals and retainers of the family of Shrewsbury: Sir Thomas Bourchier and Sir Walter Hungerford brought their friends to share his fortunes; and the appearance of men of distinction in his camp made already his cause wear a favorable aspect.

Unpopularity of Richard.

But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman of distinction was sincerely attached to his cause, except the Duke of Norfolk; and all those who feigned the most loyalty were only watching for an opportunity to betray and desert him. But the persons of whom he entertained the greatest suspicion were Lord Stanley and his brother Sir William; whose connections with the family of Richmond, notwithstanding their professions of attachment to his person, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered Lord Stanley to levy forces, he still retained his eldest son Lord Strange as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reserve in his proceedings. He raised a

Treachery of his supporters.

powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself: and though Henry had received secret assurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behavior.

Battle of Bosworth—August, 22.

The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth near Leicester; Henry, at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double the number; and a decisive action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himself at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to join either party. Richard had too much sagacity not to discover his intentions from those movements; but he kept the secret from his own men, for fear of discouraging them: he took not immediate revenge on Stanley's son, as some of his courtiers advised him; because he hoped that so valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong still further his ambiguous conduct: and he hastened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor; being certain that a victory over the Earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

The van of Richmond's army, consisting of archers, was commanded by the Earl of Oxford: Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing;

Sir John Savage, the left: the Earl himself, accompanied by his uncle the Earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Richard also took post in his main body, and intrusted the command of his van to the Duke of Norfolk: as his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the several commanders. Richard's captains.

Soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the Earl of Richmond. This measure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportional effect on both armies: it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers; it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye around the field, and, descrying his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the Earl: he dismounted Sir John Cheyney: he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honorable for his multiplied and Stanley declares for Richmond.

781280A

detestable enormities. His men everywhere sought for safety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished; and among these the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Robert Brackenbury. The loss was inconsiderable on the side of the victors. Sir William Catesby, a great instrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and soon after beheaded, with some others, at Leicester. The body of Richard was found in the field, covered with dead enemies, and all besmeared with blood. It was thrown carelessly across a horse; was carried to Leicester amid the shouts of the insulting spectators; and was interred in the Gray-Friars Church of that place.

Death of Richard.

THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA

(A.D. 1491)

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

FERDINAND took command of the army in the month of April, 1491, with the purpose of sitting down before the Moorish capital, not to rise until its final surrender. The troops, which mustered in the Val de Velillos, are computed by most historians at fifty thousand horse and foot, although Martyr, who served as a volunteer, swells the number to eighty thousand. They were drawn from the different cities, chiefly, as usual, from Andalusia, which had been stimulated to truly gigantic efforts throughout this protracted war, and from the nobility of every quarter, many of whom, wearied out with the contest, contented themselves with sending their quotas, while many others, as the Marquises of Cadiz, Villena, the Counts of Tendilla, Cabra, Ureña, and Alonso de Aguilar, appeared in person, eager, as they had borne the brunt of so many hard campaigns, to share in the closing scene of triumph.

Ferdinand musters his forces, 1491.

On the 26th of the month, the army en-

camped near the fountain of Ojos de Huescar, in the vega, about two leagues distant from Granada. Ferdinand's first movement was to detach a considerable force, under the Marquis of Villena, which he subsequently supported in person with the remainder of the army, for the purpose of scouring the fruitful regions of the Alpuxarras, which served as the granary of the capital. This service was performed with such unsparing rigor, that no less than twenty-four towns and hamlets in the mountains were ransacked and razed to the ground. After this, Ferdinand returned, loaded with spoil, to his former position on the banks of the Xenil, in full view of the Moorish metropolis, which seemed to stand alone, like some sturdy oak, the last of the forest, bidding defiance to the storm which had prostrated all its brethren.

Villena ravages the Alpuxarras.

Notwithstanding the failure of all external resources, Granada was still formidable from its local position and its defences. On the east it was fenced in by a wild mountain barrier, the Sierra Nevada, whose snow-clad summits diffused a grateful coolness over the city through the sultry heats of summer. The side toward the vega, facing the Christian encampment, was encircled by walls and towers of massive strength and solidity. The population, swelled to two hundred thousand by the immigration from the surrounding country, was likely, indeed, to be a burden in a pro-

Granada is still formidable.

tracted siege; but among them were twenty thousand, the flower of Moslem chivalry, who had escaped the edge of the Christian sword. Numerous were the combats which took place between the high-mettled cavaliers on both sides, who met on the level arena, as on a tilting-ground, where they might display their prowess in the presence of the assembled beauty and chivalry of their respective nations; for the Spanish camp was graced, as usual, by the presence of Queen Isabella and the infantas, with the courtly train of ladies, who had accompanied their royal mistress from Alcalá la Real. The Spanish ballads glow with picturesque details of these knightly tourneys, forming the most attractive portion of this romantic minstrelsy, which, celebrating the prowess of Moslem, as well as Christian warriors, sheds a dying glory round the last hours of Granada.

Moslem and Christian chivalry.

About the middle of July an accident occurred in the camp, which had like to have been attended with fatal consequences. The Queen was lodged in a superb pavilion, belonging to the Marquis of Cadiz, and always used by him in the Moorish war. By the carelessness of one of her attendants, a lamp was placed in such a situation, that during the night, perhaps owing to a gust of wind, it set fire to the drapery or loose hangings of the pavilion, which was instantly in a blaze. The flame communicated with fearful rapidity to

Conflagration in the camp.

the neighboring tents, made of light, combustible materials, and the camp was menaced with general conflagration. In order to guard against a similar disaster, as well as to provide comfortable winter quarters for the army, should the siege be so long protracted as to require it, it was resolved to build a town of substantial edifices on the place of the present encampment. When it was completed, the whole army was desirous that the new city should bear the name of their illustrious Queen; but Isabella modestly declined this tribute, and bestowed on the place the title of Santa Fé, in token of the unshaken trust, manifested by her people throughout this war, in Divine Providence. With this name it still stands as it was erected in 1491, a monument of the constancy and enduring patience of the Spaniards, "the only city in Spain," in the words of a Castilian writer, "that has never been contaminated by the Moslem heresy."

Santa Fé built.

The erection of Santa Fé by the Spaniards struck a greater damp into the people of Granada than the most successful military achievement could have done. They beheld the enemy setting foot on their soil, with a resolution never more to resign it. They already began to suffer from the rigorous blockade, which effectually excluded supplies from their own territories, while all communication from Africa was jealously intercepted. Symptoms of insubordination had begun to show them-

Rigors of the blockade.

selves among the overgrown population of the city, as it felt more and more the pressure of famine. In this crisis the unfortunate Abdallah and his principal counsellors became convinced that the place could not be maintained much longer; and at length, in the month of October, propositions were made, through the vizier Abut Cazim Abdelmalic, to open a negotiation for the surrender of the place.

Dismay of the Moors.

The conferences were conducted by night with the utmost secrecy, sometimes within the walls of Granada, and at others, in the little hamlet of Churriana, about a league distant from it. At length, after large discussion on both sides, the terms of capitulation were definitely settled, and ratified by the respective monarchs on the 25th of November, 1491.

Negotiations for surrender.

The conferences could not be conducted so secretly, but that some report of them got air among the populace of the city, who now regarded Abdallah with an evil eye for his connection with the Christians. When the fact of the capitulation became known, the agitation speedily mounted into an open insurrection, which menaced the safety of the city, as well as of Abdallah's person. In this alarming state of things, it was thought best by that monarch's counsellors to anticipate the appointed day of surrender; and the 2d of January, 1492, was, accordingly, fixed on for that purpose.

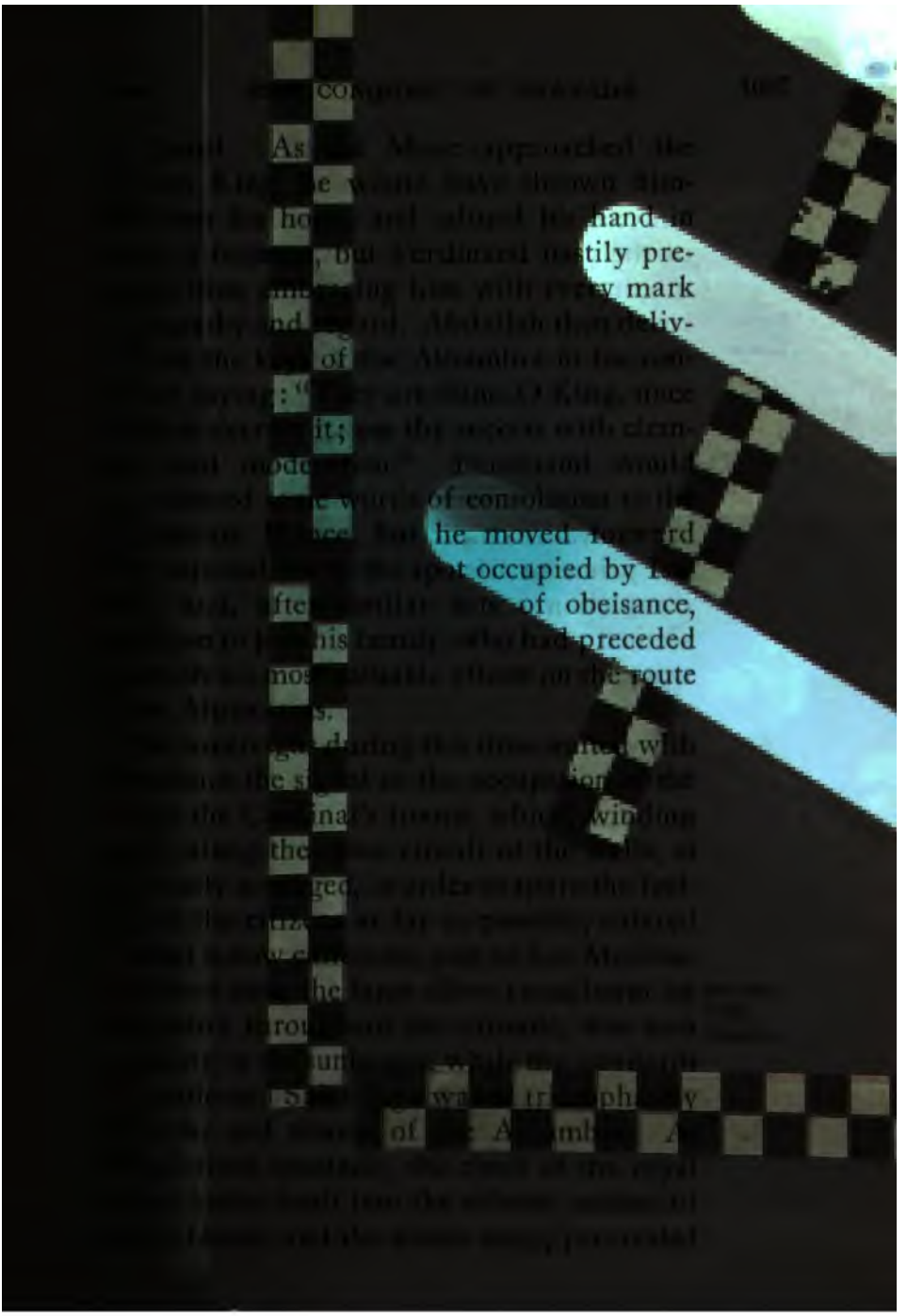
Commotions in Granada.

Preparations for occupying the city.

Every preparation was made by the Spaniards for performing this last act of the drama with suitable pomp and effect. The mourning which the court had put on for the death of Prince Alonso of Portugal, occasioned by a fall from his horse a few months after his marriage with the Infanta Isabella, was exchanged for gay and magnificent apparel. On the morning of the 2d, the whole Christian camp exhibited a scene of the most animating bustle. The grand cardinal, Mendoza, was sent forward at the head of a large detachment, comprehending his household troops, and the veteran infantry grown gray in the Moorish wars, to occupy the Alhambra preparatory to the entrance of the sovereigns. Ferdinand stationed himself at some distance in the rear, near an Arabian mosque, since consecrated as the hermitage of St. Sebastian. He was surrounded by his courtiers, with their stately retinues, glittering in gorgeous panoply, and proudly displaying the armorial bearings of their ancient houses. The Queen halted still further in the rear, at the village of Armilla.

Abdallah's submission.

As the column under the Grand Cardinal advanced up the Hill of Martyrs, over which a road had been constructed for the passage of the artillery, he was met by the Moorish Prince Abdallah, attended by fifty cavaliers, who, descending the hill, rode up to the position occupied by Ferdinand on the banks of



with deep emotion, prostrated themselves on their knees in adoration of the Lord of hosts, who had at length granted the consummation of their wishes, in this last and glorious triumph of the Cross. The grandees who surrounded Ferdinand then advanced toward the Queen, and, kneeling down, saluted her hand, in token of homage to her as sovereign of Granada. The procession took up its march toward the city, "the King and Queen moving in the midst," says a historian, "emblazoned with royal magnificence; and as they were in the prime of life, and had now achieved the completion of this glorious conquest, they seemed to represent even more than their wonted majesty. Equal with each other, they were raised far above the rest of the world. They appeared, indeed, more than mortal, and as if sent by Heaven for the salvation of Spain."

Homage paid to Isabella.

In the meanwhile, the Moorish King, traversing the route of the Alpuxarras, reached a rocky eminence which commanded a last view of Granada. He checked his horse, and, as his eye for the last time wandered over the scenes of his departed greatness, his heart swelled, and he burst into tears. "You do well," said his more masculine mother, "to weep like a woman for what you could not defend like a man!" "Alas!" exclaimed the unhappy exile, "when were woes ever equal to mine!" The scene of this event is still pointed

out to the traveller by the people of the district; and the rocky height, from which the Moorish chief took his sad farewell of the princely abodes of his youth, is commemorated by the poetical title of *El Ultimo Sospiro del Moro*,—"The Last Sigh of the Moor."

The "Last Sigh of the Moor."

The fall of Granada excited a general sensation throughout Christendom, where it was received as counterbalancing, in a manner, the loss of Constantinople, nearly half a century before. At Rome, the event was commemorated by a solemn procession of the Pope and cardinals to St. Peter's, where high mass was celebrated, and the public rejoicing continued for several days. The intelligence was welcomed with no less satisfaction in England, where Henry the Seventh was seated on the throne.

Rejoicing throughout Christendom.

Thus ended the war of Granada, which is often compared by the Castilian chroniclers to that of Troy in its duration, and which certainly fully equalled the latter in variety of picturesque and romantic incidents, and in circumstances of poetical interest. With the surrender of its capital, terminated the Arabian Empire in the peninsula, after an existence of seven hundred and forty-one years from the date of the original conquest. The consequences of this closing war were of the highest moment to Spain. The most obvious was the recovery of an extensive territory, hitherto held by a people whose difference of

Results of the war of Granada.

religion, language, and general habits made them not only incapable of assimilating with their Christian neighbors, but almost their natural enemies; while their local position was a matter of just concern, as interposed between the great divisions of the Spanish monarchy, and opening an obvious avenue to invasion from Africa. By the new conquest, moreover, the Spaniards gained a large extent of country, possessing the highest capacities for production, in its natural fruitfulness of soil, temperature of climate, and in the state of cultivation to which it had been brought by its ancient occupants; while its shores were lined with commodious havens that afforded every facility for commerce. The scattered fragments of the ancient Visigothic Empire were now again, with the exception of the little State of Navarre, combined into one great monarchy, as originally destined by nature; and Christian Spain gradually rose, by means of her new acquisitions, from a subordinate situation to the level of a first-rate European power.

Spain's gains.

But, with all our sympathy for the conquerors, it is impossible, without a deep feeling of regret, to contemplate the decay and final extinction of a race who had made such high advances in civilization as the Spanish Arabs; to see them driven from the stately palaces reared by their own hands, wandering as exiles over the lands which still blossomed

with the fruits of their industry, and wasting away under persecution, until their very name as a nation was blotted out from the map of history. It must be admitted, however, that they had long since reached their utmost limit of advancement as a people. The light shed over their history shines from distant ages; for, during the later period of their existence they appear to have reposed in a state of torpid, luxurious indulgence, which would seem to argue that, when causes of external excitement were withdrawn, the inherent vices of their social institutions had incapacitated them for the further production of excellence. In this impotent condition, it was wisely ordered that their territory should be occupied by a people whose religion and more liberal form of government, however frequently misunderstood or perverted, qualified them for advancing still higher the interests of humanity.

Destiny of the Moors.

THE JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN

(A.D. 1492)

HENRY HART MILMAN

THE ministers of confiscation and execution spread through Spain; many of the New Christians fled to France, to Portugal, and to Africa. Some, condemned for contumacy, ventured to fly to Rome, and to appeal to the Pope against their judges. The Pope himself trembled at his own act. He wrote to the sovereigns, complaining that the Inquisitors exceeded their powers. It was but a momentary burst of justice and mercy. Under the pretext of securing their impartiality, the number of Inquisitors was increased; the whole body was placed under certain regulations; and at length the Holy Office was declared permanent, and the too celebrated Thomas de Torquemada placed at its head. Its powers were extended to Aragon; but the high-spirited nobles of that kingdom did not submit to its laws without a resolute contest,—for many of those who held the highest offices were descended from the New Christians. The Cortes appealed to the King and to the

Work of the Inquisitors.

Pope, particularly against the article which confiscated the property of the criminals,—contrary, as they asserted, to the laws of Aragon. While their appeal was pending, the Inquisitors proceeded to condemn several New Christians. The pride of the nation took fire; an extensive conspiracy was organized; and the Inquisitor Arbues was assassinated in the cathedral of Saragossa. But the effects of this daring act were fatal, instead of advantageous, to the New Christians. The horror of the crime was universal. The Old Christians shrunk from their share in the conspiracy, and left their confederates to bear all the odium and the penalty of the atrocious deed. The Inquisitors proceeded to exact a frightful retribution. Two hundred victims perished. Many of the noblest families were degraded by beholding some one of their members bearing the *san-benito,* as confessed and pardoned heretics. Though their chief victims were selected from those who were suspected of secret Judaism, yet the slightest taint of Judaism in the blood (and among the Aragonese nobility —the nobility of all Spain—this was by no means rare) was sufficient to excite suspicion, and, if possible, the vengeance of the Inquisitors.

The Aragonese appeal against the Inquisitors.

The unconverted Jews, however they might commiserate these sufferings, still, no doubt, in their hours of sterner zeal, acknowledged the justice of the visitation which the God of

Jewish blood in Spanish nobility.

their fathers had permitted against those who had thus stooped to dissemble the faith of their ancestors. Their pusillanimous dereliction of the God of Abraham had met with severe though just retribution, while those who, with more steadfast hearts, had defied their adversary to the utmost, now enjoyed the reward of their holy resolution in their comparative security. But their turn came. In 1492, appeared the fatal edict commanding all unbaptized Jews to quit the realm in four months; for Ferdinand and Isabella, having now subdued the kingdom of Granada, had determined that the air of Spain should no longer be breathed by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. For this edict, which must make desolate the fairest provinces of the kingdom of its most industrious and thriving population, no act of recent conspiracy, no disloyal demeanor, no reluctance to contribute to the public burdens, was alleged. The whole race was condemned on charges, some a century old, all frivolous or wickedly false,—crucifixions of children at different periods, insults to the Host, and the frequent poisoning of their patients by Jewish physicians. One of these charges was that they perverted back to Judaism their brethren who had embraced Christianity. The story of the crucifixion of a child at Guardia had found ready belief (Juan de Passamente had been added to the saints and martyrs of the Church); it

Edict against the Jews.

Traditional atrocities.

was working with unresisted effort on the popular belief. The edict raked up every worn-out tradition of these atrocities; a crucifixion at Saragossa in 1250, at Segovia in 1406, one near Zamora, one at Sepulveda, an infernal conspiracy at Toledo to blow up a procession of the Host. The edict was issued only eighty-nine days after the conquest of Granada. The Jews made an ineffectual effort to avert their fate. Abarbanel, a man of the greatest learning, the boast of the present race of Jews, and of unblemished reputation, threw himself at the feet of the King and Queen, and offered, in the name of his nation, an immense sum, 30,000 ducats, to recruit the finances of the kingdom, exhausted by the wars of Granada. The Queen, sad to say, made a bitter speech against the suppliant. The Inquisitors were alarmed. Against all feelings of humanity and justice the royal hearts were steeled, but the appeal to their interests might be more effectual. Thomas de Torquemada advanced into the royal presence, bearing a crucifix. "Behold," he said, "him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Sell ye him now for a higher price, and render an account of your bargain before God." Abarbanel's offer.

The sovereigns trembled before the stern Dominican, and the Jews had no alternative but baptism or exile. For three centuries their fathers had dwelt in this delightful country, which they had fertilized with their industry,

enriched with their commerce, adorned with their learning. Yet there were few examples of weakness or apostasy; the whole race,—variously calculated at 166,000, 300,000, 650,000, or 800,000,—in a lofty spirit of self-devotion (we envy not that mind which can not appreciate its real greatness), determined to abandon all rather than desert the religion of their forefathers. They left the homes of their youth, the scenes of their early associations, the sacred graves of their ancestors, the more recent tombs of their own friends and relatives. They left the synagogues in which they had so long worshipped their God; the schools where those wise men had taught, who had thrown a lustre which shone, even through the darkness of the age, upon the Hebrew name. They were allowed four months to prepare for this everlasting exile. The unbaptized Jew found in the kingdom after that period was condemned to death. The persecutor could not even trust the hostile feelings of his bigoted subjects to execute his purpose. A statute was thought necessary, prohibiting any Christian from harboring a Jew after that period. Many were sold for slaves; Christendom swarmed with them. The wealthier were permitted to carry away their movables, excepting gold and silver, for which they were to accept letters of change or any merchandise not prohibited. Their property they might sell; but the market was soon glutted, and the

Number of Jews exiled.

Statute against harboring Jews.

cold-hearted purchasers waited till the last instant to wring from their distress the hardest terms. A contemporary author states that he saw Jews give a house for an ass, and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen. Yet many of them concealed their gold and jewels in their clothes and saddles; some swallowed them, in hopes thus at least to elude the scrutiny of the officers. The Jews consider this calamity almost as dreadful as the taking and ruin of Jerusalem. For whither to fly? and where to find a more hospitable shore? Incidents, which make the blood run cold, are related of the miseries which they suffered. Their sufferings. Some of those from Aragon found their way into Navarre; others to the seashore, where they set sail for Italy, or the coast of Morocco; others crossed the frontier into Portugal. "Many of the former were cast away, or sunk," says a Jewish writer, "like lead, into the ocean." On board the ship, which was conveying a great number to Africa, the plague broke out. The captain ascribed the infection to his circumcised passengers, and set them all on shore, on a desert coast, without provisions. They dispersed: one, a father, saw his beautiful wife perish before his eyes —fainted himself with exhaustion—and, waking, beheld his two children dead by his side. A few made their way to a settlement of the Jews. Some reached the coast of Genoa, but they bore famine with them; they lay perish-

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

(A.D. 1492)

WASHINGTON IRVING

AFTER the great difficulties made by various courts in patronizing this enterprise, it is surprising how inconsiderable an armament was required. It is evident that Columbus had reduced his requisitions to the narrowest limits, lest any great expense should cause impediment. Three small vessels were apparently all that he had requested. Two of them were light barks called caravels, not superior to river and coasting craft of more modern days. Representations of this class of vessels exist in old prints and paintings. They are delineated as open, and without deck in the centre, but built up high at the prow and stern, with forecastles and cabins for the accommodation of the crew. Peter Martyr, the learned contemporary of Columbus, says that only one of the three vessels was decked. The smallness of the vessels was considered an advantage by Columbus, in a voyage of discovery, enabling him to run close to the shores, and to enter

The three ships.

Boabdil Surrendering the Keys of Granada to Ferdinand and Isabella

(THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA, A.D. 1491)

From Painting by Pradilla

shallow rivers and harbors. In his third voyage, when coasting the Gulf of Paria, he complained of the size of his ship, being nearly a hundred tons burden. But that such long and perilous expeditions, into unknown seas, should be undertaken in vessels without decks, and that they should live through the violent tempests by which they were frequently assailed, remain among the singular circumstances of these daring voyages.

At length, by the beginning of August, every difficulty was vanquished, and the vessels were ready for sea. The largest, which had been prepared expressly for the voyage, and was decked, was called the *Santa Maria;* on board of this ship Columbus hoisted his flag. The second, called the *Pinta,* was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as pilot. The third, called the *Nina,* had lateen sails, and was commanded by the third of the brothers, Vicente Yañez Pinzon. There were three pilots, Sancho Ruiz, Pedro Alonzo Niño, and Bartolomeo Roldan. Roderigo Sanchez of Segovia was inspector-general of the armament, and Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, chief alguazil. Roderigo de Escobar went as royal notary, an officer always sent in the armaments of the crown, to take official notes of all transactions. There was also a physician and a surgeon, together with various private adventurers, several servants and

Columbus's companions

ninety mariners; making, in all, one hundred and twenty persons.

Departure from Palos.

The squadron being ready to put to sea, Columbus, impressed with the solemnity of his undertaking, confessed himself to the friar Juan Perez and partook of the sacrament of the communion. His example was followed by his officers and crew, and they entered upon their enterprise full of awe, and with the most devout and affecting ceremonials, committing themselves to the especial guidance and protection of Heaven. A deep gloom was spread over the whole community of Palos at their departure, for almost every one had some friend or relative on board of the squadron. The spirits of the seamen, already depressed by their own fears, were still more cast down at the affliction of those they left behind, who took leave of them with tears and lamentations, and dismal forebodings, as of men they were never to behold again.

When Columbus set sail on this memorable voyage, he commenced a regular journal, intended for the inspection of the Spanish sovereigns. Like all his other transactions, it evinces how deeply he was impressed with the grandeur and solemnity of his enterprise. He proposed to keep it, as he afterward observed, in the manner of the Commentaries of Cæsar. It opened with a stately prologue, wherein, in the following words, were set

forth the motives and views which led to his expedition.

Columbus's journal.

"In nomine D. N. Jesu Christi. Whereas most Christian, most high, most excellent and most powerful princes, King and Queen of the Spains, and of the islands of the sea, our sovereigns, in the present year of 1492, after your highnesses had put an end to the wars with the Moors, who ruled in Europe, and had concluded that warfare in the great city of Granada, where, on the second of January of this present year, I saw the royal banners of your highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of that city, and beheld the Moorish king sally forth from the gates of the city, and kiss the royal hands of your highnesses and of my lord the prince; and immediately in that same month, in consequence of the information which I had given to your highnesses of the lands of India, and of a Prince who is called the Grand Khan, which is to say in our language, King of Kings; how that many times he and his predecessors had sent to Rome to entreat for doctors of our holy faith, to instruct him in the same; and that the holy father had never provided him with them, and thus so many people were lost, believing in idolatries, and imbibing doctrines of perdition; therefore, your highnesses, as Catholic Christians and princes, lovers and promoters of the holy Christian faith, and

The Grand Khan wants to learn the true faith.

enemies of the sect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and heresies, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India, to see the said princes, and the people and lands, and discover the nature and disposition of them all, and the means to be taken for the conversion of them to our holy faith; and ordered that I should not go by land to the east, by which it is the custom to go, but by a voyage to the west, by which course, unto the present time, we do not know for certain that any one hath passed. Your highnesses, therefore, after having expelled all the Jews from your kingdoms and territories, commanded me, in the same month of January, to proceed with a sufficient armament to the said parts of India; and for this purpose bestowed great favors upon me, ennobling me that thenceforward I might style myself Don, appointing me high admiral of the ocean sea, and perpetual viceroy and governor of all the islands and continents I should discover and gain, and which henceforward may be discovered and gained in the ocean sea; and that my eldest son should succeed me, and so on from generation to generation forever. I departed, therefore, from the city of Granada the 12th of May of the same year, 1492, to Palos, where I armed three ships, well calculated for such service, and sailed from that port well furnished with provisions and with many seamen, on Fri-

A voyage westward to the Indies.

Hereditary honors for Columbus.

day, the 3d of August, of the same year, half an hour before sunrise, and took the route for the Canary Islands of your highnesses, to steer my course thence, and navigate until I should arrive at the Indies, and deliver the embassy of your highnesses to those princes, and accomplish that which you had commanded. For this purpose I intend to write during this voyage, very punctually from day to day, all that I may do and see, and experience, as will hereafter be seen."

Columbus beholds the new world.

It was on Friday morning, the 12th of October, that Columbus first beheld the new world. As day dawned he saw before him a level island, several leagues in extent, and covered with trees like a continual orchard. Though apparently uncultivated, it was populous, for the inhabitants were seen issuing from all parts of the woods and running to the shore. They were perfectly naked; and, as they stood gazing at the ships, appeared by their attitudes and gestures to be lost in astonishment. Columbus made signal for the ships to cast anchor, and the boats to be manned and armed. He entered his own boat, richly attired in scarlet, and holding the royal standard; while Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Vincent Jañez, his brother, put off in company in their boats, each with a banner of the enterprise emblazoned with a green cross, having on either side the letters F. and Y., the initials of the Castilian

He signals to anchor.

monarchs, Fernando and Ysabel, surmounted by crowns.

As he approached the shore, Columbus, who was disposed for all kinds of agreeable impressions, was delighted with the purity and suavity of the atmosphere, the crystal transparency of the sea, and the extraordinary beauty of the vegetation. He beheld, also, fruits of an unknown kind upon the trees which overhung the shores. On landing he threw himself on his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed by the rest, whose hearts indeed overflowed with the same feelings of gratitude. Columbus, then rising, drew his sword, displayed the royal standard, and assembling round him the two captains, with Rodrigo de Escobedo, notary of the armament, Rodrigo Sanchez, and the rest who had landed, he took solemn possession in the name of the Castilian sovereigns, giving the island the name of San Salvador. Having complied with the requisite forms and ceremonies, he called upon all present to take the oath of obedience to him, as admiral and viceroy, representing the persons of the sovereigns.

Landing of Columbus.

Columbus takes possession of the island.

The feelings of the crew now burst forth in the most extravagant transports. They had recently considered themselves devoted men, hurrying forward to destruction; they now looked upon themselves as favorites of fortune,

Behavior of the crew.

and gave themselves up to the most unbounded joy. They thronged around the admiral with overflowing zeal, some embracing him, others kissing his hands. Those who had been most mutinous and turbulent during the voyage were now most devoted and enthusiastic. Some begged favors of him, as if he had already wealth and honors in his gift. Many abject spirits, who had outraged him by their insolence, now crouched at his feet, begging pardon for all the trouble they had caused him, and promising the blindest obedience for the future.

Terror of the natives.

The natives of the island, when, at the dawn of day, they had beheld the ships hovering on their coast, had supposed them monsters which had issued from the deep during the night. They had crowded to the beach, and watched their movements with awful anxiety. Their veering about, apparently without effort, and the shifting and furling of their sails, resembling huge wings, filled them with astonishment. When they beheld their boats approach the shore, and a number of strange beings clad in glittering steel, or raiment of various colors, landing upon the beach, they fled in affright to the woods. Finding, however, that there was no attempt to pursue nor molest them, they gradually recovered from their terror, and approached the Spaniards with great awe; frequently prostrating themselves on the earth, and making signs of adora-

Their terror overcome.

tion. During the ceremonies of taking possession, they remained gazing in timid admiration at the complexion, the beards, the shining armor, and splendid dress of the Spaniards. Columbus particularly attracted their attention, from his commanding height, his air of authority, his dress of scarlet, and the deference which was paid him by his companions; all which pointed him out to be the commander. When they had still further recovered from their fears, they approached the Spaniards, touched their beards, and examined their hands and faces, admiring their whiteness. Columbus was pleased with their gentleness and confiding simplicity, and suffered their scrutiny with perfect acquiescence, winning them by his benignity. They now supposed that the ships had sailed out of the crystal firmament which bounded their horizon, or had descended from above on their ample wings, and that these marvellous beings were inhabitants of the skies.

Their gentleness and simplicity.

As Columbus supposed himself to have landed on an island at the extremity of India, he called the natives by the general appellation of Indians, which was universally adopted before the true nature of the discovery was known, and has since been extended to all the aboriginals of the New World.

The island where Columbus had thus, for the first time, set his foot upon the New World was called by the natives Guanahané. It still

San Salvador.

retains the name of San Salvador, which he gave to it, though called by the English Cat Island. The light which he had seen the evening previous to his making land may have been on Watling's Island, which lies a few leagues to the east. San Salvador is one of the great cluster of the Lucayos, or Bahama Islands, which stretch southeast and northwest from the coast of Florida to Hispaniola, covering the northern coast of Cuba.

Columbus reconnoitres the coast.

On the morning of the 14th of October, the admiral set off at daybreak with the boats of the ships to reconnoitre the island, directing his course to the northeast. The coast was surrounded by a reef of rocks, within which there was depth of water and sufficient harbor to receive all the ships in Christendom. The entrance was very narrow; within there were several sand-banks, but the water was as still as in a pool.

Hospitality of the natives.

The island appeared throughout to be well wooded, with streams of water, and a large lake in the centre. As the boats proceeded they passed two or three villages, the inhabitants of which, men as well as women, ran to the shores, throwing themselves on the ground, lifting up their hands and eyes, either giving thanks to heaven, or worshipping the Spaniards as supernatural beings. They ran along parallel to the boats, calling after the Spaniards, and inviting them by signs to land, offering them various fruits and vessels of water.

Finding, however, that the boats continued on their course, many threw themselves into the sea and swam after them, and others followed in canoes. The admiral received them all with kindness, giving them glass beads and other trifles, which were received with transports as celestial presents, for the invariable idea of the savages was that the white men had come from the skies.

In this way they pursued their course, until they came to a small peninsula, which with two or three days' labor might be separated from the mainland and surrounded with water, and was therefore specified by Columbus as an excellent situation for a fortress. On this were six Indian cabins, surrounded by groves and gardens as beautiful as those of Castile. The sailors being wearied with rowing, and the island not appearing to the admiral of sufficient importance to induce colonization, he returned to the ships, taking seven of the natives with him, that they might acquire the Spanish language and serve as interpreters. Having taken in a supply of wood and water, they left the island of San Salvador the same evening, the admiral being impatient to arrive at the wealthy country to the south, which he flattered himself would prove the famous island of Cipango.

Columbus explors San Salvador.

CHARLES VIII. INVADES ITALY

(A.D. 1494)

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI

WHILE Italy had lost a part of the advantages which, in the preceding century, had constituted her security, the transalpine nations had suddenly acquired a power which destroyed the ancient equilibrium. Up to the close of the Fifteenth Century, wars were much fewer between nation and nation than between French, Germans, or Spaniards among themselves. Even the war between the English and the French, which desolated France for more than a century, sprang not from enmity between two rival nations, but from the circumstance that the kings of England were French princes, hereditary sovereigns of Normandy, Poitou, and Guienne. Charles VII. at last forced the English back beyond sea, and reunited to the monarchy provinces which had been detached from it for centuries. Louis XI. vanquished the dukes and peers of France who had disputed his authority; he humbled the house of Burgundy, which had begun to have

Nature of medieval wars.

Louis XI. humbles Burgundy.

interests foreign to France. His young successor and son, Charles VIII., on coming of age, found himself the master of a vast kingdom in a state of complete obedience, a brilliant army, and large revenues; but was weak enough to think that there was no glory to be obtained unless in distant and chivalrous expeditions. The different monarchies of Spain, which had long been rivals, were united by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, and by the conquest which they jointly made of the Moorish kingdom of Granada. Spain, forming for the first time one great power, began to exercise an influence which she had never till then claimed. The Emperor Maximilian, after having united the Low Countries and the County of Burgundy, his wife's inheritance, to the states of Austria, which he inherited from his father, asserted his right to exercise over the whole of Germany the imperial authority which had escaped from the hands of his predecessors. Lastly, the Swiss, rendered illustrious by their victories over Charles the Bold, had begun, but since his death only, to make a traffic of their lives, and enter the service of foreign nations. At the same time, the empire of the Turks extended along the whole shore of the Adriatic, and menaced at once Venice and the kingdom of Naples. Italy was surrounded on all sides by powers which had suddenly become gigantic, and of which not

Charles VIII. master of a vast kingdom.

Rise of Spain's power.

The Turkish Empire.

one had, half a century before, given her uneasiness.

France was the first to carry abroad an activity unemployed at home, and to make Italy feel the change which had taken place in the politics of Europe. Its King, Charles VIII., claimed the inheritance of all the rights of the second house of Anjou on the kingdom of Naples. Those rights, founded on the adoption of Louis I. of Anjou by Joan I., had never been acknowledged by the people, or confirmed by possession. For the space of a hundred and ten years, Louis I., II., and III., and Réné, the brother of the last, made frequent but unsuccessful attempts to mount the throne of Naples. The brother and the daughter of Réné, Charles of Maine and Margaret of Anjou, at last either ceded or sold those rights to Louis XI. His son, Charles VIII., as soon as he was of age, determined on asserting them. Eager for glory, in proportion as his weak frame, and still weaker intellect, incapacitated him for acquiring it, he, at the age of twenty-four, resolved on treading in the footsteps of Charlemagne and his paladins; and undertook the conquest of Naples as the first exploit that was to lead to the conquest of Constantinople and the deliverance of the holy sepulchre.

Rights of Charles VIII.

Charles VIII. entered Italy in the month of August, 1494, with 3,600 men-at-arms or heavy cavalry; 20,000 infantry, Gascons, Bretons,

He resolves to conquer Naples.

His vandalism.

Yet fire as well as water was employed in the conversion of the city. For the burning of the Moslems themselves the time had not yet arrived; but their books at least might pay the penalty of heterodoxy, and feed the ready flames of persecution. An immense pile of manuscripts of every description, works on theology and philosophy, copies of the Koran, Commentaries on Aristotle, books of science, of poetry, of history, of medicine, of mathematics, were collected by pious hands, and burned by Ximenez in the great square of Granada. Many of these manuscripts, we are told, were triumphs of caligraphy, and of the now almost forgotten art of the illuminator; many were in gorgeous bindings; but nothing was sacred for the spoiler. Copies of the Koran worth more than their weight in gold, records and treatises beyond price, all were involved in the barbarous holocaust.

His diligent rigor.

The Primate's next step was the publication of an ordinance forbidding the inhabitants, under pain of imprisonment and corporal chastisement, to speak evil of the Christian religion, or of those who professed it; and the proclamation was so liberally interpreted by the royal officers that in a few days the prisons were filled with accused persons, who were treated with the utmost severity. Nor was any one released until he had abjured the faith of Islam, and consented to embrace Chris-

tianity. As time went on, the "diligent rigor," as an admiring chronicler has it, of the great Franciscan became still more exacting. A Moor of royal lineage, Al Zegri by name, having been invited to a religious conference for the purpose of conversion, had withstood the arguments and rejected the gifts of the Primate; and Ximenez had retorted by the arrest and imprisonment of so independent a Nonconformist. The arguments of the jailers proved more potent than those of Ximenez himself, and after a few days' experience of the methods of an ecclesiastical prison, Al Zegri was restored to freedom as a professing Christian. The Almighty, it was said, had deigned to pay him a special visit in his retirement, and had enjoined him not only to abjure the faith of his fathers, but to compel all his brethren to follow his example. He was baptized under the Christian names, not of Alfonso or Francisco, as might have been expected, in honor of Ximenez, but of Gonsalvo Hernandez, in memory of the Great Captain with whom he had contended in more loyal warfare, in the course of the last siege of Granada.

Al Zegri's conversion.

The endurance of the population, however, had by this time been strained to the utmost. An insult offered by one of the Primate's servants to a Moorish girl in the Albaycin was the signal for the expected rising. And Ximenez found himself besieged in his palace

The first outbreak.

by the citizens in arms. The tumult thus excited by his violent and intemperate zeal was like to have developed into a revolution in peaceful Granada. But the generosity of Al Zegri himself saved Ximenez from the first shock of the fury of the populace; and when the personal influence and chivalrous devotion of the Moorish prince had checked the onslaught of an indignant people, the gentleness of Talavera and the discretion of Mendoza hushed the storm that had been so rashly raised. The venerable Archbishop made his way, without guards or attendants, into the very midst of the turmoil. The Count of Tendilla, bareheaded in the Albaycin, disclaimed any intention of armed interference, and offered his own children as hostages, if only the citizens would return to their homes and to their duty. The Moors, touched by such courage and such generosity, forgot the encroachments of Ximenez, and promptly laid down their arms; and within a few hours Granada was as tranquil and as industrious as before.

Al Zegri's generosity.

Granada is tranquilized.

Ximenez, however, after various letters to Ferdinand and Isabella, thought it best to make his way to Seville, partly that he might excuse himself to the sovereigns for the recent outbreak at Granada, which he was able to attribute to the wickedness of the Moslems, rather than to the intemperance of his own zeal, and partly that he might concert measures

for the complete reversal of the policy of Talavera and Mendoza at Granada. After some consultation with the King and Queen, the views of Ximenez prevailed, and commissioners were immediately despatched to Granada with instructions to continue the good work that had been temporarily suspended by the departure of the Primate. The Moors for the moment offered no further resistance. Conformity and emigration thinned the ranks of Islam. And when the inevitable rebellion broke out early in the ensuing year, it was confined to the inhabitants of a few outlying towns, and to the hardy mountaineers of that "land of warriors," the wild region of Alpujarras.

The rebellion in Alpujarras.

Yet, insignificant as the rising might have at first sight appeared, the sovereigns at once realized the importance of promptly checking a rebellion in the country which it had taken so many years to conquer. Far from despising an apparently insignificant enemy, they ordered Gonsalvo de Cordova, the hero of Granada, and the most accomplished general in Europe, to take immediate steps for the suppression of the local insurrection. The Great Captain was not a man to dally, and within a few days he entered the hostile province at the head of a small army. Several fortified cities had already been occupied by the insurgents, and of these the first to be attacked by the Catholic troops was Huejar,

Gonsalvo de Cordova called upon.

some miles to the south of Granada. The whole neighborhood having been flooded by the inhabitants as a means of defence, the heavily armed Spanish horsemen, including Gonsalvo himself, were wellnigh drowned before they could advance to the assault. But as soon as he had reached the walls the Great Captain, who in all his experience in command had not forgotten how to fight, planted the first scaling-ladder, cut down with his own hand the foremost Moslem who opposed him, leaped into the city, followed by his troops, and speedily reduced it to subjection.

The sack of Huejar.

By order of Ferdinand the whole of the garrison were put to the sword, the women and children sold as slaves, and the town given up to indiscriminate pillage. The next place to fall into the hands of the Christians was Lanjaron, *el paraiso de las Alpujarràs,* whose inhabitants experienced the same amount of mercy as those of Huejar. The Count of Lerin, moreover, gave proof of his Christian zeal at Lanjaron, between Granada and Almeria, by blowing up a mosque filled with women and children; and the effects of the establishment of the Inquisition, and the personal influence of Ferdinand, were abundantly felt in the different manners in which the war was carried on from that of only ten years before. The Moors, however, soon sued for peace, craving only that the terms should be settled by Gonsalvo de Cordova; and the con-

The Count of Lerin's zeal.

ditions of the treaty that was at length granted by Ferdinand were, on the whole, more favorable than could have been expected under the circumstances.

As soon as tranquillity was restored, and Gonsalvo had retired once more to Cordova, it became apparent that a new policy, political and ecclesiastical, was to prevail in Granada; no longer the policy of Mendoza and Talavera; not even that of the Great Captain, but the "Thorough" policy of Ximenez. The very name of Moor was erased from the vocabulary of Christian Spain, and the remnants of the once dominant race were to be known in future as the Moriscos.

Sterner policy for Granada.

The Christian soldier had now taken his departure. But the Christian priest appeared; and behind him lay the entire power of Spain—the court, the army, the Church, and the Holy Office. The black battalions descended upon Granada, promising innumerable advantages, both temporal and eternal, to those who should embrace the Cross; and threatening with the most terrible penalties, in the present and future world, all who should neglect the opportunity which was then finally offered to them, of conversion to the True Faith. The results were exactly what might have been expected. The weaker, the more fraudulent, the more timid recanted. The more sturdy, the more bigoted, the more independent, once more re-

The black battalions.

Rebellion renewed.

belled. But this time it was not in the wild Alpujarras, but on the western frontier of Granada that the standard of revolt was raised. Nor was Gonsalvo de Cordova any longer at liberty to take command of the royal forces. For Ferdinand of Aragon had at length resolved to possess himself of the kingdom of Naples; and the Great Captain was once more on his way to Italy. His elder brother, Don Alfonso de Aguilar, was intrusted with the task of putting down the Moorish rebellion.

Don Alfonso was a brave soldier, but he had no pretensions to be a general, and he lacked not only the skill but the good fortune of his more distinguished brother. His dispositions were unskilfully made, and rashly carried out; the commander was slain in single combat by a Moorish knight in the very first engagement, while his army, dispersed and

Spanish reverses.

disorganized, was wellnigh cut to pieces in the mountainous country of the Sierra Bermeja (March 18, 1501). Ferdinand at once assumed the command of such troops as he could hastily collect. The rebels had no leader; and alarmed rather than encouraged by the success of their operations, they disbanded their forces, and sought pardon and peace at the hands of the Catholic king. Ferdinand, whose attention was fully taken up

The rebels submit.

with his intrigues in Italy, was content with the submission of the rebels. The uselessness

of armed resistance had been made apparent to the Moors, both in town and country. The Christian sovereigns were free to deal with their unhappy subjects in Granada without fear of resistance or opposition.

Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, had died in 1498; and his successor, Deza, was encouraged by Ximenez to demand at the hands of the Catholic sovereigns the establishment of the Inquisition in Granada. So flagrant a violation of the royal engagements to the subject Moors was at first sight discountenanced by Isabella, who actually refused her sanction to the scheme. But her approbation was easily obtained to an *extension* of the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Cordova over the entire province of Granada—a happy solution of an embarrassing question of good faith.

The Inquisition established in Granada.

Thus was Granada abandoned to the tender mercies of the dreadful Lucera; and soon afterward all show of toleration was utterly cast away. The policy of *Thorough* had finally prevailed. On the 20th of July, 1501, the sovereigns issued an edict abolishing the faith or the practice of Islam throughout Granada, condemning all nonconformists to death—with the usual addition of confiscation of goods. But even this was not judged sufficient. Less than seven months afterward, on the 12th of February of the year 1502, it was further ordered that the entire Moslem popu-

Islamism proscribed.

All Moslems expelled.

lation, men, women and children of twelve years old and upward, should quit the kingdom within two months; and by a savage refinement of cruelty, the exiles were forbidden on pain of death to emigrate to neighboring Africa, or even to the distant Empire of the Ottoman, where a Moslem population would have received them at least with brotherly pity. As this sanguinary provision was found to have been evaded, a further ordinance was issued on the 17th of September, 1502, decreeing that no one, of any race or religion, should quit the Peninsula for the space of two years, without the express permission of the sovereigns. Shut out thus from every possible refuge, with no alternative but death or baptism, the Moslem submitted, and while he fervently whispered that there was no God but the God of Mohammed, he bowed his head before the uplifted cross of the Inquisitor.

St. Peter's begun.

[Alvarez de Cabral discovers Brazil (1500). Gonsalvo de Cordova conquers Naples from the French (1503); it is governed by Spanish viceroys till 1700. St. Peter's, at Rome, is begun (1506) by Bramante. The sugar-cane is first brought to Hispaniola from the Canaries (1506). The Council of the Indies is instituted at Seville; Ceylon is discovered by Almeida, and Madagascar by Tristan d'Acunha (1507).]

LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY

(A.D. 1508)

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI

THE league against Venice, signed at Cambray, on the 10th of December, 1508, by Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian, and the Cardinal d'Amboise, Prime Minister of Louis, was only the completion of the secret treaty of Blois, of the 22d of September, 1504. No offence had been given to justify this perfidious compact. Maximilian, who detested Louis, had the same year endeavored to attack him in the Milanese; but the Venetians refused him a passage; and, after three months' hostilities, the treaty between the Emperor and the Republic was renewed, on the 7th of June, 1508. Louis XII., whom the Venetians defended, and Maximilian, with whom they were reconciled, had no other complaint against them than that they had no king, and that their subjects thus excited the envy of those who had. The two monarchs agreed to divide between them all the terra firma of the Venetians, to abandon to Ferdinand all their fortresses in Apulia, to

Secret treaty of Blois.

Proposed division of Venetian territory.

the Pope the lordships in Romagna, to the houses of Este and Gonzaga the small districts near the Po; and thus to give all an interest in the destruction of the only State sufficiently strong to maintain the independence of Italy.

France was the first to declare war against the Republic of Venice, in the month of January, 1509. Hostilities commenced on the 15th of April; on the 27th of the same month, the Pope excommunicated the Doge and the Republic. The Venetians had assembled an army of 42,000 men, under the command of the impetuous Bartolomeo d'Alviano and the cautious Pitigliano. The disagreement between these two chiefs, both able generals, caused the loss of the battle of Aignadel, fought, on the 14th of May, 1509, with the French, who did not exceed 30,000. Half only, or less, of the Venetian army was engaged; but that part fought heroically, and perished without falling back one step. After this discomfiture, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, and Cremona hastily surrendered to the conquerors, who planted their banners on the border of Ghiaradadda, the limits assigned by the treaty of partition. Louis signalized this rapid conquest by atrocious cruelties: he caused the Venetian governors of Caravaggio and of Peschiera to be hanged, and the garrisons and inhabitants to be put to the sword; he ruined, by enormous ransoms, all the Venetian nobles who fell into his hands; seeking to vindicate to himself his

Battle of Aignadel.

Cruelties of Louis.

unjust attack by the hatred which he studied to excite.

The French suspended their operations from the 31st of May; but the Emperor, the Pope, the Duke of Ferrara, the Marquis of Mantua, and Ferdinand of Aragon, profited by the disasters of the Republic to invade its provinces on all sides at once. The Senate, in the impossibility of making head against so many enemies, took the generous resolution of releasing all its subjects from their oath of fidelity, and permitting them to treat with the enemy, since it was no longer in its power to defend them. In letting them feel the weight of a foreign yoke, the Senate knew that it only rendered more dear the paternal authority of the Republic; and, in fact, those citizens who had eagerly opened their gates to the French, Germans, and Spaniards, soon contrasted, in despair, their tyranny with the just and equal power which they had not had the courage to defend. The Germans, above all, no sooner entered the Venetian cities, than they plunged into the most brutal debauchery; offending public decency, and exercising their cruelty and rapacity on all those who came within their reach. Notwithstanding this, the native nobles joined them. They were eager to substitute monarchy for republican equality and freedom; but their insolence only aggravated the hatred which the Germans inspired. The army of the Republic had taken refuge

General invasion of the Republic.

Rapacity of the Germans.

at Mestre, on the borders of the Lagune, when suddenly the citizen evinced a courage which the soldier no longer possessed. Treviso, in the month of June, and Padua on the 17th of July, drove out the imperialists; and the banners of St. Mark, which had hitherto constantly retreated, began once again to advance.

The war of the League of Cambray showed the Italians, for the first time, what formidable forces the transalpine nations could bring against them. Maximilian arrived to besiege Padua in the month of September, 1509. He had in his army Germans, Swiss, French, Spaniards, Savoyards; troops of the Pope, of the Marquis of Mantua, and of the Duke of Modena: in all more than 100,000 men, with 100 pieces of cannon. He was, notwithstanding, obliged to raise the siege, on the 3d of October, after many encounters, supported on each side with equal valor. But these barbarians, who came to dispute with the Italians the sovereignty of their country, did not need success to prove their ferocity. After having taken from the poor peasant, or the captive, all that he possessed, they put him to the torture to discover hidden treasure, or to extort ransom from the compassion of friends. In this abuse of brute force, the Germans showed themselves the most savage, the Spaniards the most coldly ferocious. Both were more odious than the French; although the last mentioned

Siege of Padua.

Cruelty of the Germans and Spaniards.

had bands called flayers (écorcheurs), formed in the English wars, and long trained to grind the people.

Pope Julius II. soon began to hate his accomplices in the League of Cambray. Violent and irascible, he had often shown in his fits of passion that he could be as cruel as the worst of them. But he had the soul of an Italian. He could not brook the humiliation of his country, and its being enslaved by those whom he called barbarians. Having recovered the cities of Romagna, the subject of his quarrel with the Venetians, he began to make advances to them. At the end of the first campaign, he entered into negotiations; and on the 21st of February, 1510, granted them absolution. He was aware that he could never drive the barbarians out of Italy but by arming them against each other; and as the French were those whom he most feared, he had recourse to the Germans. It was necessary to begin with reconciling the Venetians to the Emperor; but Maximilian, always ready to undertake everything, and incapable of bringing anything to a conclusion, would not relax in a single article of what he called his rights. As Emperor, he considered himself monarch of all Italy; and, although he was always stopped on its frontier, he refused to renounce the smallest part of what he had purposed conquering. He asserted that the whole Venetian territory had been usurped from the Em-

The Pope grants absolution.

pire; and, before granting peace to the Republic, demanded almost its annihilation.

It was with the aid of the Swiss that the Pope designed to liberate Italy. He admired the valor and piety of that warlike people: he saw, with pleasure, that cupidity had become their ruling passion. The Italians, who needed the defence of the Swiss, were rich enough to pay them; and a wise policy conspired for once with avarice; for the Swiss republics could not be safe if liberty were not re-established in Italy. Louis XII., by his prejudice in favor of nobility, had offended those proud mountaineers whom, even in his own army, he considered only as revolted peasants. Julius II. employed the Bishop of Sion, whom he afterward made cardinal, to irritate them still more against France. In the course of the summer of 1510, the French, according to the plan which Julius had formed, were attacked in the Milanese by the Swiss, in Genoa by the Genoese emigrants, at Modena by the pontifical troops, and at Verona by the Venetians; but, notwithstanding the profound secrecy in which the Pope enveloped his negotiations and intrigues, he could not succeed, as he had hoped, in surprising the French everywhere at the same time. The four attacks were made successively, and repulsed. The Sire de Chaumont, lieutenant of Louis in Lombardy, determined to avenge himself by besieging the Pope in Bologna, in the month

The Swiss hired to liberate Italy.

The French are unsuccessfully attacked.

of October. Julius feigned a desire to purchase peace at any price; but, while negotiating, he caused troops to advance; and, on finding himself the stronger, suddenly changed his language, used threats, and made Chaumont retire. When Chaumont had placed his troops in winter quarters, the Pope, during the greatest severity of the season, attacked the small State of Mirandola, which had put itself under the protection of France; and entered its capital by a breach, on the 20th of January, 1511.

The Pope's troops, commanded by the Duke of Urbino, experienced in the following campaign a signal defeat at Casalecchio, on the 21st of May, 1511. It was called "the day of the ass-drivers," because the French knights returned driving asses before them loaded with booty. The loss of Bologna followed; but Julius II. was not discouraged. His legates labored, throughout Europe, to raise enemies against France. They at last accomplished a League, which was signed on the 5th of October, and which was called Holy, because it was headed by the Pope. It comprehended the kings of Spain and England, the Swiss, and the Venetians. Louis XII., to oppose an ecclesiastical authority to that of the pontiff, convoked, in concert with Maximilian, whom he continued to consider his ally, an ecumenical council. A few cardinals, who had separated from the Pope, clothed it with their au-

The "day of the ass-drivers."

The Holy League.

thority; and Florence dared not refuse to the two greatest monarchs of Europe the city of Pisa for its place of meeting, although the whole population beheld with dread this commencement of a new schism.

The Council of Pisa.

A powerful Spanish army, meanwhile, advanced from Naples, to the aid of the Pope, under the command of Raymond de Cordona; and laid siege to Bologna on the 26th of January, 1512. The French had driven to despair, by their extortions, the people of the provinces which they had seized from Venice. On the 3d of February, Brescia revolted against them. Gaston de Foix, Duc de Nemours, and nephew of Louis XII., had, at the age of twenty-two, been just placed at the head of the French army. With a rapidity ever memorable, he in turn successfully opposed his two enemies. Having, on the 5th of February, entered Bologna, he forced the Spaniards to raise the siege, and make a precipitate retreat through Romagna. He instantly returned to attack the Venetians, and on his road defeated one of their armies. He retook Brescia by assault, on the 19th of February, and punished that unhappy city by a frightful massacre of its inhabitants; but pillage disorganized and corrupted his army, and six weeks elapsed before he could return to Romagna, to oppose the armies of Spain and of the Pope, which had again advanced. He forced them to give battle, near Ravenna, on

Gaston de Foix.

The sack of Brescia.

Easter Sunday, the 11th of April, 1512. It was the most murderous battle that Italy had yet seen: nearly 20,000 dead covered the plain on which it was fought. Gaston de Foix was, for the last time, victorious. The formidable Spanish infantry slowly retreated, without permitting itself to be broken in any part. Gaston, furious at its escaping him, made one last effort against it, and was killed.

Death of Gaston.

The death of Gaston proved the signal of the defeat of the French in Italy. The ministers of Louis thought they might, after the battle of Ravenna, safely dismiss a part of their army; but Maximilian, betraying all his engagements, abandoned the French to their enemies. Without consenting to make peace with Venice, he gave passage through his territory to 20,000 Swiss, who were to join the Venetian army, in order to attack the French. He, at the same time, recalled all the Germans who had enlisted under the banner of France. Ferdinand of Aragon and Henry VIIIth of England almost simultaneously attacked Louis, who, to defend himself, was obliged to recall his troops from Italy. In the beginning of June, they evacuated the Milanese, of which the Swiss took possession, in the name of Maximilian Sforza, son of Louis the Moor. On the 29th of the same month, a revolution drove the French out of Genoa; and the Republic and a new doge were again proclaimed. The possessions of France were

The French driven from Genoa.

soon reduced to a few small fortresses in that Italy which the French thought they had subdued. But the Italians did not recover their liberty by the defeat of only one of their oppressors. From the yoke of France, they passed under that of the Swiss, the Spaniards, and the Germans; and the last they endured always seemed the most galling. To add to their humiliation, the victory of the Holy League enslaved the last and only republic truly free in Italy.

Florence was connected with France by a treaty concluded in concert with Ferdinand the Catholic. The Republic continued to observe it scrupulously, even after Ferdinand had disengaged himself from it. Florence had fulfilled toward all the belligerent powers the duties of good neighborhood and neutrality, and had given offence to none; but the League, which had just driven the French out of Italy, was already divided in interest, and undecided on the plan which it should pursue. It was agreed only on one point, that of obtaining money. The Swiss lived at discretion in Lombardy, and levied on it the most ruinous contributions: the Spaniards of Raymond de Cordona insisted also on having a province abandoned to their inexorable avidity; Tuscany was rich and not warlike. The victorious powers who had assembled in congress at Mantua proposed to the Florentines to buy themselves off with a contribution; but the

Florence observes her obligations.

Congress of Mantua.

Medici, who presented themselves at this congress, asked to be restored to their country, asserting that they could extract much more money by force, for the use of the Holy League, than a republican government could obtain from the people by gentler means. Raymond de Cordona readily believed them, and in the month of August, 1512, accompanied them across the Apennines, with 5,000 Spanish infantry as inaccessible to pity as to fear. Raymond sent forward to tell the Florentines that if they would preserve their liberty, they must recall the Medici, displace the gonfalonier Soderini, and pay the Spanish army 40,000 florins. He arrived at the same time before the small town of Prato, which shut its gates against him: it was well fortified, but defended only by the *ordinanza,* or country militia. On the 30th of August, the Spaniards made a breach in the wall, which these peasants basely abandoned. The city was taken by assault; the militia, which would have incurred less danger in fighting valiantly, were put to the sword: 5,000 citizens were afterward massacred, and others, divided among the victors, were put to lingering tortures, either to force them to discover where they had concealed their treasure, or to oblige their kinsmen to ransom them out of pity; the Spaniards having already pillaged all they could discover in holy as well as profane places.

The Medici good tax-gatherers.

Massacre of Prato.

The terror caused at Florence by the news

of the massacre of Prato produced next day a revolution. A company of young nobles, belonging to the most illustrious families, who, under the title of Society of the Garden Ruccellai, were noted for their love of the arts, of luxury and pleasure, took possession, on the 31st of August, of the public palace; they favored the escape of Soderini, and sent to tell Raymond de Cordona that they were ready to accept the conditions which he offered. But all treaties with tyrants are deceptions. Giuliano de' Medici, the third son of Lorenzo, whose character was gentle and conciliatory, entered Florence on the 2d of September, and consented to leave many of the liberties of the Republic untouched. His brother, the Cardinal Giovanni, afterward Leo X., who did not enter till the 14th of the same month, forced the signoria to call a parliament on the 16th. In this pretended assembly of the sovereign people, few were admitted except strangers and soldiers: all the laws enacted since the expulsion of the Medici in 1494 were abolished. A balia, composed only of the creatures of that family, was invested with the sovereignty of the Republic. This balia showed itself abjectly subservient to the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, his brother Giuliano, and their nephew Lorenzo, who now returned to Florence after eighteen years of exile, during which they had lost every republican habit, and all sympathy with their fellow-citizens.

Society of the Garden Ruccellai.

Return of the Medici.

None of them had legitimate children; but they brought back with them three bastards—Giulio, afterward Clement VII., Ippolito, and Alessandro,—who had all a fatal influence on the destiny of their country. Their fortune, formerly colossal, was dissipated in their long exile; and their first care, on returning to Florence, was to raise money for themselves, as well as for the Spaniards who had re-established their tyranny.

Their fatal influence.

CONQUESTS OF MEXICO AND PERU

(A.D. 1510—1535)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

THE beautiful isles discovered by Columbus had been colonized, especially Haiti and Cuba; where the Spanish settlers portioned out the Indian inhabitants among themselves, professing to intend their conversion and training in Christian habits, but, in general, making them suffer a hard and cruel bondage. When the poor creatures ran away they were tracked by bloodhounds, animals of high sagacity, and sometimes less cruel than their masters. Leonillo, one of these hounds, could distinguish a domestic Indian from a runaway, and when by an inhuman trick he was set upon a poor old Indian woman, who had been deceived by being charged with a mock letter for the governor, he desisted from the attack on her crouching to him, showing the letter, and he could not be prevailed upon to hurt her.

Cruelties of the Spaniards.

These cruelties were protested against by the excellent Fra Antonio Montesinos and the Dominican Friars; but, strange to relate, the

Franciscans took the part of the oppressors, and justified them, declaring that to forbid them to enslave the Indians would be the same as to deny them the use of their cattle. Of all the friends of this unhappy race, the most noted was Fra Bartolomé de Las Casas, the Apostle of the Indians, who spent his life in trying to alleviate their miseries, bring them to the Christian faith, and obtain for them the protection of the state. Unfortunately, in the hope of relieving the Indians, Las Casas devised the transplanting negroes to the West Indies, as being hardier and more fit to endure labor. He little thought that he was preparing the way for greater atrocities than those he sought to prevent.

The Apostle of the Indians.

The Spanish governors of these islands were usually violent and avaricious men. Indeed, the thirst for treasure was the chief motive for the western voyage, and a vision of an El Dorado, or golden city, drew on adventurer after adventurer. Honduras and Darien were settled, and a runaway spendthrift named Vasco Nunez de Balboa, who had been smuggled on board ship in a cask, was the first to lead a little band through countless toils and dangers across the Northern Andes, and to behold the great Pacific Ocean. He rushed into the waves with drawn sword, proclaiming that he took possession of it, and all that it contained, for his lord, the King of Castile. This was in 1511.

Discovery of the Pacific Ocean.

Cortes conquers Mexico.

In 1519, Fernando Cortés, a Spanish hidalgo, in whom a high spirit of religious zeal, honor, and loyalty was alloyed by Spanish cruelty, left the Havana in Cuba with a little fleet, and at the head of 600 men penetrated into the Aztec empire, held by a highly civilized and by no means cowardly race. Mexico, the capital, placed high on the table-land, upon islands in the midst of a beautiful lake, was one of the loveliest cities in the world, full of fine buildings and beautiful gardens. The history of the Aztecs was represented in a gorgeous mosaic of feathers, to supply the want of letters, and their government was powerful and well regulated; but their religion was polluted by frightful human sacrifices, offered on the summit of terraced pyramids, which served as temples. Cortés and his companions were horror-struck, and deemed that they were doing a holy work in warring on the perpetrators of such abominations. Their deeds were most daring, and often their peril was extreme, but the use of fire-arms gave them an advantage which enabled them finally to prevail.

Death of Montezuma.

The unfortunate Emperor, Montezuma, placed himself in their hands, and was killed by an arrow shot by some of his own subjects, who continued their resistance. His relative and heir, Guatemozin, was made prisoner and tortured to death, and Mexico, or New Spain, was added to the dominions of Charles.

Much treasure, both in gold and silver, was gathered in Mexico, but it did not fulfil the expectations of the greedy Spaniards, and their eyes still turned to the south. Francisco Pizarro, a fierce and resolute soldier, who had once been a swineherd in Estramadura, got together a party of men such as himself, and sailing from Panama found his way to the valleys of the higher Andes, Peru, namely, a place more nearly golden than any yet discovered.

Francisco Pizarro.

Gold and silver were the only metals of the gentle race that dwelt there, and they were used for the common purposes of life, not as money, which was unknown among the people.

Their gods were the Sun and Moon. The temple of the first was completely lined and furnished with gold, and adorned with a resplendent orb of that metal, while the Moon's lesser temple was all of silver. The worship consisted of prayers, holidays, rejoicings, and offerings of flowers, with no such bloody rites as had disgraced Mexico. The royal race, the Incas, were believed to be Children of the Sun, and ruled over their subjects with an absolute but paternal sway. Everything was the property of the Incas: the people, the llamas (their only quadrupeds), and the fields, which were highly cultivated with maize. The crops were gathered in with great rejoicings, stored in the Inca's barns, whence grain was dis-

The Incas.

tributed to the householders, and so, again, was the wool of the llamas, and whatever besides was needed, while the royal officers directed the industry of this great family in tillage, in weaving, and in making wonderful causeways over the precipices and ravines of the Andes.

On this happy people burst the coarse and savage Spanish desperadoes, unchecked by remorse, and deeming outrages on the heathen a virtue. The Peruvians were no warriors, and their feeble resistance only sufficed to inflame the cruelty of their enemies. Atahualpa, the last of the Incas, was burned alive, and the beautiful city of Cuzco became the scene of horrible slaughter and rapacity. The recklessness of the conquerors may be understood from the fact that one of the soldiers who had seized the great golden image of the sun played it away in one night of gaming.

Their feeble resistance.

Pizarro was created a Marquis, and became governor of the country he had made desolate. He was a hardy, resolute man, of great ability, though of no education, never having even learned to write, and there was nothing to soften the fierce nature that had been let loose on the unfortunate Peruvians. He founded the city of Lima, and ruled for some years, but gave great offence to his fellow-adventurers, and was murdered by some of them.

City of Lima founded.

The country was found to abound in silver

mines, with here and there veins of gold; and ships freighted with these treasures sailed every season for Spain, which was overloaded with plate and jewels, but soon became an example of the ruin brought by riches, won by iniquity. The wealth of Peru never seemed to be of any use; the Spanish kings were always crippled by distress for money, and the only effect of the heaps of treasure was a slow but sure decay and corruption.

Riches of the country.

BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD

(A.D. 1513)

ANDREW LANG

A VAST army met on the Borough Moor, Highlanders, Islesmen, Lowlanders (August 13-20, 1513), and, on August 22, "King James was o'er the Border." Wark and Eital castles he took, and, after a siege of five days, made himself master of Norham (August 29). This castle (whose very ruins are of great size and strength, showing wall and trench within wall and trench) is perched on a steep cliff, now covered with wood, above the Tweed. James is said to have had good intelligence from within that the place was weakest, from the crumbling of the soil, where the scaur was most precipitous. Having possessed himself of this strength (a castle of the Bishop of Durham's), which he could not safely leave in his rear, James took Etal, Chillingham, and Ford, which stands on a height above Till, and within scarcely more than a mile of Flodden ridge, across the Till on the north. On Flodden ridge James (who knew of Surrey's approach, and had no time to besiege Berwick) fixed his

James crosses the border.

Encampment on Flodden ridge.

camp, placing for three or four days his head-quarters at Ford Castle. James's sole object was, by making a diversion, to cause Henry VIII. to conclude a peace with France. He wisely lured Surrey as far as possible from his base. There were some negotiations as to sparing Ford Castle, between Lady Heron, James, and Surrey, who was now (September 3) approaching with the Stanleys from the south by Newcastle and Alnwick. These dealings are all the historical facts behind Pitscottie's and Buchanan's legend that James was distinguished by Lady Heron; and (*teste Pitscottio*) his son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, by her daughter, of whom no trace has been discovered by genealogists. It is conceivable that, in the three or four days of James's stay at Ford, Lady Heron gave the King some encouragement; and it is probable that she gave Surrey some information. From Alnwick, Surrey sent his insulting challenge by Rouge Croix: he had been joined by his equally insolent son with a force of sailors, while La Motte, the French ambassador, was with James. On Monday, September 5, the Scots began to demolish Ford Castle: a tower with the King's rooms, so called, still exists. James now retired to his well-chosen camp on the crest of Flodden. He had secured his flank, by taking the castles, and had caused a diversion favorable to France, which was all that he intended. The English were some 40,-

Object of the invasion.

Surrey's insulting challenge.

The Scots demolish Ford Castle.

000, the Scots perhaps 60,000 men. Desertions are talked of, but the Scots were well provisioned, while Surrey's men, marching, much discontented, under heavy rains, were reduced to drinking water, which no English force could endure. The English army pitched their tents in Wooler haugh, a plain about six miles to the right of Flodden crest.

Disadvantages of the English.

Beholding the impregnable position of James, Surrey, on September 7, requested him to descend to a fair field on the plain. The King replied that "he would take and keep his ground and field at his own pleasure." Surrey then (September 8) put Till between him and the enemy, and marched, possibly behind a ridge of hills, to Barmoor wood, which is north of Flodden, where he encamped in very great discomfort from rain and lack of liquor. James probably supposed that he was marching on the road to Berwick. According to Holinshed, it was Lord Thomas Howard who

Surrey crosses Till.

now advised his father, Surrey, to cross Till again, and, by a detour, place himself on James's rear. He could thus either force James to leave his hold, or cut off his communications with Scotland. By noon, on Friday, the English van and artillery had crossed Till by Twizel Bridge, which James could not (I venture to think) see from Flodden, while Surrey, with the rearguard, crossed by Millford.

The English now advanced due south

against Flodden. They found a kind of natural causeway through a swamp, and moved on toward Branxton hill. This is the middle of three ridges, like a gigantic staircase, descending from Flodden (on the north) to the level of Tweed. James might have sat still on Flodden ridge, and awaited Surrey's attack, if attack he did. James was well provisioned; not so Surrey, who could not have long maintained his position or kept his men together. He appears, according to a letter of the Regency of James V. (Jan. 16, 1514), to have known nothing of the English approach till just before evening, when *Angli se ostentant.* Having lost touch of Surrey, he could not stop him at Twizel Bridge, as Scott supposes, in *Marmion.* James, on detecting the English approach, fired his camp, and, under cover of the smoke, descended from Flodden to Branxton ridge. His army was arrayed in five bodies, the King's in the centre, the four sets of double companies stretching out from it and forward, "like horns." Paolo Giovio uses here the very phrase of Zulu warfare; the King's force is the "head," the four other bodies in advance on either side are the "horns." Each advanced body probably consisted of two battalions, under Home and Huntly, Crawford and Errol, D'Aussi and Bothwell, Lennox and Argyll. Home's Border spears and Huntly's Gordons, Errol's and Crawford's men from Perthshire, Fife, and

The battle-ground.

Arrangement of the Scottish forces.

the Merse, were on the Scots' left, then the royal division in the centre, with Bothwell's, and the Celtic levies of Argyll and Lennox, on the right of the Scots. In perfect silence, barefoot, because of the slipperiness of the wet hillside, the Scots descended, and the Admiral, on the English right, sent to Surrey to bring up his rearguard. Edmund Howard's force was most advanced, and was charged by Home and Huntly. Dacre, advancing to support Edmund, was deserted by his Tynemouth men. Brian Tunstal fell, the Cheshire levies were wavering, when Dacre checked Home and drove off Huntly's men. It is said that Home's Borderers began to plunder: their whole conduct is mysterious.

The combat.

Meanwhile the Admiral, in the centre of the vanguard, clashed with Crawford and Errol. Crawford fell, Rothes was slain, Errol's command was broken by the Percys. James now threw his centre against that of Surrey. The English artillery mowed down his charging spears, while the Scottish guns, ill-worked, were silent or useless. Attended by Herries and Maxwell, James appears to have made straight for the English standard, and for Surrey himself, described (by Pitscottie) as a decrepit creature in a chariot. While the central ranks of England reeled under James's charge, the Admiral and Dacre, successful in their own affairs, fell on the flank of the Scottish centre, which was now aided by Both-

Superiority of the English Artillery.

well, with the forces of the Lothians. The ancestors of Know may here have fought under the Lions and the Rose of Hepburn. Meanwhile, "Stanley broke Lennox and Argyll": the Celts, as at Fontenoy, charged "like furies," but in vain. Lennox and Argyll fell like heroes on the right, while their men fled. Meanwhile the Scottish centre maintained that desperate battle of spears against the deadly sweep of the English bills, odds which Scott has made immortal—

Vain charge of the Celts.

> "The stubborn spearmen still made good
> Their dark impenetrable wood,"

even while Stanley, too wise to pursue the fleet-footed Highlanders, threw his forces also into the mass which assailed the peers of Scotland and the King. Rear, flank, and front of the Scottish centre were now attacked by footmen and horsemen, lances and bills. James fought his way within a lance's length of Surrey, as Surrey confessed, and there died, his body riddled with arrows, his left hand hanging helpless, his neck deeply gashed by bill or blade. But his lords and men, as at Neville's Cross, pressed forward round the King, who had died before their front rank, and night fell while the "dark impenetrable wood" of spears was yet unbroken.

Death of James.

Morning found the hill deserted, the artillery unguarded; but the Scots under Home had to be scattered by a discharge of cannon before they abandoned a chance to plunder.

Capture of the Scottish guns.

The English in the morning captured the seventeen deserted pieces of Scottish artillery, which had been silenced at the beginning of the battle, says Hall. They were on a height, and the Scottish gunners may have been unskilled in firing at objects below them. Moreover, the fighting at Flodden was hand to hand, after a brief artillery duel, and it was impossible to shoot into a melley of friends and foes. A letter from the Bishop of Durham, whose castle of Norham had been ruined, adds a few details of the fight. It was won, not by archery, as it was natural to suppose, but by the sweep of the English bills, which sliced off the points of the long spears in which the Scots put their trust. The arrows, the Bishop declares, did not harm the armed nobles, "such large and strong men that they would not fall when four or five bills struck one of them." The Borderers, we learn on this good authority, plundered during the battle —plundered both sides. They were led by Home, presently to be a world's wonder for his treachery—a friend of Angus—and the Bishop's letter justifies the legendary contempt of Home which is expressed in ballad verse—

Details of the fight.

Home's treachery.

"Up wi' the Sutors o' Selkirk,
And down wi' the Earl o' Home."

The saddest circumstance is that the English had been deprived of beer for three days, and could hardly have endured another day of

drought; while it is melancholy to think that if the Scots, on Flodden side, had sat still, drinking their beer, which the learned Bishop highly commends, the force of Surrey, unvictualled, would have melted like a mist.

The English found thirteen earls dead in a ring around the body of their prince: the Archbishop of St. Andrews, his young son, had also fallen with the Bishops of Caithness and the Isles. With these clerics died many lords and chiefs, while the song attests the slaughter among the yeomanry and burgesses: "The Flowers o' the Forest are a' wede awa." This defeat was the great sorrow of Scotland, and, even now, in any national misfortune, people say, "There has not been the like since Flodden." But no defeat bore less of dishonor, no battle lost by chivalrous folly was ever so well redeemed by desperate valor, and no fight since chariots charged on the plains of windy Troy has been so chanted by a descendant of the Flowers of the Forest.

"The Flowers of the Forest."

They carried back their banner, as tradition runs, to the little town of Selkirk, where a yearly ceremony keeps alive the recollection of their immortal defeat. The Scots long cherished the inevitable hope that their brave King had not died,—like Arthur, he would come again. But his dust wastes in England, and his sword and dagger are now in the College of Arms in London, glorious spoils of war. It had been well if his descendants at

The banner preserved.

Edgehill, Montrose, and Culloden had known, as the fourth James knew, how a king should die.

Sultan of Egypt slain by Selim.

[The Mameluke Sultan of Egypt is defeated and slain near Aleppo by Selim, who adds Syria, Palestine and Egypt to his dominions. France concludes treaties of peace with the Swiss, Spain and the Emperor (1516). Hayraddin Barbarossa, who has seized Algiers, etc., begins the piracies for which the Barbary States soon become notorious (1518).]

THE REFORMATION

(A.D. 1517—1540)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

THERE were Protestants before Luther. Paulinus of Aquileia in the days of Charlemagne; the Albigenses in sunny Languedoc; the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont; John Wycliffe in England; Huss and Jerome, the Bohemians, who perished in the flames at Constance; and Savonarola, who met the same fate at Florence,—all nobly deserved the noble name. Early Protestants.

But it was not until the printing-presses of Gutenberg and Faust and Caxton had multiplied books, especially the Bible, a thousandfold, and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks had scattered far and wide the Greeks and their language,—thus giving to the West the key to the right understanding of the New Testament,—that Central Europe, in the gray dawn of a new era, could see the shackles laid on her by Rome, and summon all her might to tear them from her burdened limbs.

Then, in the fulness of the time, Martin Luther arose, and, somewhat later, John Cal-

Three central figures.

vin and Ulric Zwingle, the three leaders of the Continental Reformation. Grouped round these three grand central figures stood a little band of brave spirits, foremost among whom were Melancthon, the friend of Luther, Lefevre and Farel, the associates of Calvin.

Luther's early days.

Luther, the son of a miner, was born at Eisleben in Saxony in December, 1483. While at school in Eisenach he used to sing in the streets for bread,—a custom which was common among the German students. Entering the University of Erfurt, he took his degree in 1505: he was then twenty-two.

Toward the close of his college life, which was free and jovial, three events stirred his mind powerfully:—he found in the library a Latin Bible; a dear friend died; and he himself was sick nigh unto death. Calling his fellow-students around him one night, he entertained them at a merry supper; and scarcely had they left his lodging, when he stood knocking at the door of the Augustine convent with two books in his hand—a Virgil and a Plautus. His three years within the cloisters of Erfurt were spent in terrible mental struggles, and in vain attempts to gain peace by monkish fastings and penances. It was not until the advice of Staupitz, his Vicar-General, directed him to the Bible and the works of St. Augustine that Luther began to see light.

Mental struggles.

In 1508, Luther was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the University of Witten-

berg. There he won renown as a bold and original preacher. The little old wooden chapel of the convent could not hold his audience. The great idea of the Reformation was now taking full possession of his soul. So strong was its influence, that when he went to Rome in 1510 or 1511, on a certain mission, and tried to climb Pilate's staircase on his knees as an act of penance, his conscience never ceased to thunder in his soul, "The just shall live by faith." The Rome of that day he found to be a hot-bed of infidelity, blasphemy, and crime. In 1512, he was made Doctor of Divinity. So far we have traced the outlines of his preparation; now for his great work.

Luther in Rome.

Leo X., in want of money to build St. Peter's at Rome, authorized the sale of indulgences. John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, arrived within a few miles of Wittenberg with a bundle of these paper lies, and the simple country-folk of Saxony crowded round his counter to buy. With brow of brass and lungs of leather, he shouted all day long the wonderful powers of the indulgence. "Drop a penny in my box for some poor wretch in purgatory," said he, "and the moment it clinks on the bottom, the freed soul flies up to heaven." Luther heard of these things, and saw their effect upon some of his own flock, who, believing themselves pardoned by the indulgence they had bought, refused to submit to his direction. He felt the time had come for the first blow in a mo-

Tetzel and indulgences

mentous struggle. "God willing," said he, "I will beat a hole in his drum."

The ninety-five theses.

Then, shaping his belief on the subject of the indulgences into ninety-five theses or propositions, he sent a copy of them to the Archbishop of Magdeburg; and on the same day—that which we call Hallow-Eve—he nailed another copy, signed with his name, on the gate of the Castle Church of Wittenberg. In these theses Luther did not altogether deny the power of the Church to grant absolution; but he maintained that, unless there was real contrition on the part of the sinner, an indulgence was of no avail. This public defiance was the starting-point of the Reformation. The news ran with lightning speed through Germany and Europe.

Tetzel's counter theses.

Tetzel, retiring to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, issued a list of counter theses, maintaining the infallibility and the supreme authority of the Pope. These were burned by the students of Wittenberg, who entered heart and soul into the cause of their professor. Pope Leo, a literary and architectural amateur, heard a buzz in Germany, but treated it lightly, as a monkish quarrel. "This Luther," said he, "is a man of genius; he writes well."

Cajetan, the papal legate, a smooth and subtle Italian, was foiled in an attempt to make Luther retract at a conference held at Augsburg. Miltitz, a German, had apparently better success,—having enticed Luther into

a conditional promise to keep silence upon the disputed points.

The disputation of Leipsic, however, proved that Luther had not merely drawn the sword, but had flung away the scabbard. When that man, of middle size, so thin as to seem mere skin and bone, yet with nothing forbidding or sad in his bright happy face, mounted the platform in the royal hall of Duke George, with a bouquet of flowers in his hand, those who sat around—the noblest and wisest and most learned in the land—must have wondered at the daring of the solitary monk. Dr. Eck, Professor of Divinity at Ingolstadt, a man noted through all Germany for skill in controversy, was his rival. Taking his stand upon the text, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," Eck maintained the supremacy of the Pope. Luther, applying the word "rock" to Christ, contended that he was the sole and absolute head of the Church. So the fencing went on for days, and they parted, each claiming the victory.

The disputation of Leipsic.

Eck champions Papal supremacy.

During the following summer Luther published a few pages of an address to the Christian nobles of Germany, in which, with that strong, blunt speech that he was noted for, he characterized the seat of Papacy as a devil's nest. His work "On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church" followed in autumn.

At length the thunder of Rome broke forth. A bull was published, declaring Luther a her-

etic, ordering his writings to be burned, and summoning him to Rome within sixty days. The crisis had come, and bravely the monk of Saxony met it. One winter day, gathering the students and townsfolk of Wittenberg to the Elster Gate, he cast the Papal bull, a document once so potent and terrible, into the flames of a fire of wood.

Burning of the Papal bull.

A few months later, he set out for Worms, where the young Emperor Charles V. was holding his first Diet of the German States. Greatly had the soul of Luther rejoiced when he received a summons to plead his cause in so proud a presence. He journeyed slowly, crowds thronging round his coach, and joyous music welcoming him at every stage. Friendly warnings met him; a heavy sickness seized him on the way; yet still he pressed undaunted on. And when the roofs and spires of Worms rose in view, standing up in his carriage, he sang the famous hymn, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,* which has ever since borne his name. That night till very late his inn was thronged with nobles and scholars. But when all were gone, alone upon his knees, he sobbed out a broken prayer, casting himself at this hour of great need entirely upon the help of God. Next day, as the April sun was near its setting, he came before the Emperor, who sat enthroned among his splendid courtiers. It was a striking contrast—a pale monk against a brilliant court. As at Leipsic, his cheek was

Diet of Worms.

thin; but there was that within his heart which could brave the dark looks of the red-robed cardinals and violet-clad bishops, the sneers of dressy Spaniards, or the wrath of the great Emperor himself. Eck rose to ask him if he would retract his works. Luther required a day to prepare his reply; and next day he closed a two hours' speech in German and in Latin thus: "Unless I be convinced by Scripture and reason, I neither can nor dare retract anything; for my conscience is a captive to God's word, and it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. Here I take my stand; I can do no otherwise. So help me God." He was then dismissed from Worms, the Emperor having declared his resolve to treat him as a heretic. Luther's own epitome, in a letter to a friend, of the proceedings of these three momentous days is a gem of condensation. "Are the books yours?"—"Yes."—"Will you revoke, or not?"—"No."—"Get you gone then."

Luther stands firm.

On his way home he was seized by a band of armed men in masks, and carried to the Castle of the Wartburg up among the mountains. This is said to have been done by his friend the Elector of Saxony to keep him out of harm's way. There he lived for about a year disguised as a knight, rambling, hunting, and writing. During this retirement he began his great work, the translation of the Bible into German. Before he left Wartburg he

The Castle of the Wartburg.

Luther tranalates the New Testament.

had finished the New Testament; but the entire work was not completed until 1534. The news that Carlstadt and other extreme Reformers were carrying things with a high hand at Wittenberg, smashing images, and seeking to banish from the University all books but the Bible, called Luther down from the mountains. Then came a controversy with Carlstadt, who was forced to flee from Saxony to Switzerland. A quarrel between Luther and Erasmus occurred about the same time.

He marries.

In 1524, Luther threw off his monk's dress; in the following year he married Catherine Von Bora, an escaped nun. About the same time the Peasants' War, excited by the Anabaptists under Munzer, arose in the Black Forest, and raged throughout the Rhine provinces, ending in the slaughter of fifty thousand people. Luther, whose enemies blamed him for this outbreak, took the rashness of the misguided peasants deeply to heart, and inveighed bitterly against their mad actions.

In 1529, the Landgrave of Hesse, desirous of a union between the Reformers of Germany and Switzerland, invited Luther and Zwingle to meet at Marburg.

Ulric Zwingle.

Zwingle was born in 1484—a Swiss farmer's son. He saw service early in life, as chaplain to the Swiss troops in Italy. After he was settled as a preacher at home, the sale of indulgences excited his anger at Einsiedlen, as it had ex-

cited Luther's at Wittenberg. At Zurich, somewhat later, he preached reform more boldly still, and won for that canton the honor of being the first to embrace the pure doctrines of Protestantism. His great mistake as a Reformer was the attempt to mix politics with religion—to reform the State while he purified the Church.

When the Swiss and the Saxon met at Marburg, they differed upon the subject of the Lord's Supper. Luther maintained the doctrine of consubstantiation, in which he was a steadfast believer; Zwingle verged to the opposite extreme; and they parted, no great friends. Two years later, in a war between the Reformed and the Romish cantons, Zwingle, whose warlike spirit led him to join the ranks of the Zurichers, was killed in the battle of Cappel.

Luther and Zwingle disagree.

A diet was held at Spires in the spring of 1529, partly to raise forces for the Turkish war, and partly to settle, if possible, the religious differences of the nation. The Romish party having drawn up a decree in favor of their creed, the Lutherans gave in their famous "Protest," from which they were henceforth called Protestants. The names of the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Lünenburg, the Prince of Anhalt, and the deputies of fourteen cities, were affixed to this document.

Diet of Spires.

Diet of Augsburg.

Next year a great assembly of princes met at Augsburg. Luther was not there, but Melancthon was; and to this gentle friend of the brave Reformer fell the task of reading the celebrated Confession of the Protestant Faith. In twenty-one articles the belief of Protestants was summed up; the remaining seven were devoted to the errors of Rome. The document was written by Melancthon, but much of the matter was Luther's. Although this Confession was condemned by the Diet of Augsburg, the determined attitude of the Protestants made the decision of little use. The Emperor wavered, not willing to estrange so powerful a section of the German nation. The league of Protestants at Smalcald and Frankfort gave new strength to the cause of truth, and the Emperor, whose grand object then was to lead all Germany into the field against the Turks, annulled the proceedings of the Diets held at Worms and Augsburg. This victory of Protestantism marks, for the time at least, the close of the struggle.

Last days of Luther.

Luther lived until 1546, writing and teaching at Wittenberg. Every year saw the doctrines, for which he had so stoutly contended, spreading more widely. There was much to vex him in the perils which still beset the cause, and in the follies of some of its friends; but within his little home there was peace. While visiting his native town, Eisleben, to reconcile the Counts of Mansfield, he died after a

short illness. As he said himself, "The world is weary of me; and I of the world."

No sketch of the Reformation would be complete without a notice of John Calvin. Born in 1509, at Noyon in Picardy, he received his education chiefly in the schools of Paris, and afterward attended law classes at Orleans and Bruges. The study of the Bible, and the conversation of two friends first opened his mind to the truths of the Reformed faith, while he was a student at Orleans; and his association at Bruges with the Professor of Greek, Melchior Wolmar, deepened his convictions of Romish error. To teach religion then became his grand desire. After many vain efforts to teach the Reformed doctrines peacefully in France, we find him an exile at Basle. There, in 1535, he published the first outline of his great work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion,* which was undoubtedly the book of the Reformation, and is still a standard text-book in some of our schools. After a stay of some time in Italy, and a short visit to France, he settled in Geneva in the summer of 1536. John Calvin.

Here he became teacher and preacher of theology; and in conjunction with Farel framed a Confession of Faith for the citizens: who were, however, scarcely yet prepared for the strict, and, as some thought, over-rigid discipline which he sought to establish. A hostile party accordingly arose, known as the Lib- The Libertines.

ertines, whose influence grew strong enough to banish Calvin and Farel from the city.

Strasburg was Calvin's refuge; and during his three quiet years of literary and pastoral labor in that city he married. His strong interest in the Genevans was shown by two remarkable letters, written from Strasburg, to strengthen them in the Protestant faith. The completion of the *Institutes* in 1539, too, marks this green resting-place in a troubled life.

Calvin is recalled.

Late in 1540, he received a letter from the Council of Geneva, entreating him to return; and in the autumn of the following year he obeyed the call. He lost no time in laying down a code of laws, regulating, not the Church only, but the minutest details of every-day life.

The rest of Calvin's hard-working life was spent in this city, which became a great centre of the Reformation. Controversy filled up his days, for enemies were thick around him.

He expels the Libertines.

After a long struggle, he expelled the Libertines from the city. By many he is supposed to have given his sanction to the burning of the Spaniard Servetus, who denied the doctrine of the Trinity,—a circumstance which, if true, only affords another melancholy proof that even the greatest and purest spirits can not always rise above the prevailing spirit and rooted prejudices of the age in which they live.

The Age of Reformation

(A.D. 1517-1540)

From Painting by Kaulbach

After much suffering from gout and other diseases, this great man died, one evening in May, just as the sun was setting. His frame was meagre, and rather low-sized: his sallow face told of hard study and rigorous self-denial.

Death of Calvin.

FIRST VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD

(A.D. 1519—1522)

RICHARD HENRY MAJOR

FERNAM DE MAGALHAENS, better known by the Spanish form of his name, Magellan, was of noble Portuguese parentage, but we know little for certain of his early youth, except that he was brought up in the household of Queen Leonora, the wife of Dom João II. The instruction in mathematics and geography which he would there receive would be of an advanced kind, as at that time these sciences, which had received large development in Portugal under the auspices of Prince Henry, were taught by the two eminent Jews, named Josef and Rodrigo. His sojourn in India and his campaigns in the extreme East, enabled him to gather information on which he afterward based his memorable enterprise.

Career of Magellan.

After his return from the East, Magalhaens served in Africa, and during a razzia at Azamor, was wounded in the knee, from which wound he remained lame all the rest of his life. In the distribution of some cattle then

captured some disagreement arose, which led to complaints against him at court, and to much dissatisfaction. Conceiving himself unjustly treated by the King in the matter of these complaints and the mode of their reception, Magalhaens resolved to renounce his nationality, and to leave Portugal. His experience in navigation, and his acquaintance with the geography of the Moluccas, made him an acceptable visitor to Charles V., who was then but just returned from Flanders. Magalhaens arrived in Seville on the 20th of October, 1517, accompanied by two other malcontents, Rui Faleiro, a learned cosmographer, and Christovam de Haro, a wealthy merchant, who already possessed immense commercial relations with India. The Papal Bull of Alexander VI., which had determined that a line drawn from pole to pole a hundred leagues west of the Azores should be the boundary between the claims of Spain and Portugal, was practically indecisive on account of the difficulty of measuring longitudes. Nor were matters improved by the Convention of 1494, in which the line of demarcation was removed to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores, for though Portugal thereby gained in South America, Spain became also a considerable gainer in the East, the sea way to which had been first opened up by Portugal. The Moluccas formed, moreover, the very garden of those

Magellan renounces his nationality.

Conflicting claims.

spices, the commerce of which was so eagerly coveted. Magalhaens gave it as his opinion that the Moluccas fell within the Spanish boundary, and undertook to take a fleet thither by the south of the American continent. The position of Magalhaens at Seville was strengthened by his marriage, in January, 1518, with the daughter of his relative, Diogo Barbosa, with whom he had taken up his quarters, and who had sailed to the Indies in 1501 under the order of Juan de Nova. He was now Commander of the Order of Santiago, and lieutenant to the alcaide of the Castle of Seville. Magalhaens had further the good fortune to secure the friendship and aid of Juan de Ovando, the principal factor of the Contratacion, or chamber of commerce. To the latter was mainly owing the arrangement with the Emperor for that great expedition which was afterward to hold so distinguished a position in the history of nautical discovery.

Position of Magellan in Spain.

In August, 1519, Charles V. gave Magalhaens five ships, with the rank of Captain-General, and it is remarkable that every one of the vessels was accompanied by a Portuguese pilot. The *Trinidad*, of one hundred and twenty tons, on board of which Magalhaens hoisted his flag, had Stevam Gomez for pilot; the *San Antonio,* also of one hundred and twenty tons, commanded by Juan de Cartagena, had indeed a Spaniard, Andres de San Martin, for pilot, but he was accompanied by

Magellan's fleet.

the Portuguese pilot, João Rodrigues de la Mafra; the *Concepcion*, of ninety tons, commanded by Gaspar de Quesada, had for pilot the Portuguese, João Lopez de Carvalho; the *Victoria*, of eighty-five tons, under the command of Luis de Mendoza, was piloted by the Portuguese, Vasco Gallego; and the *Santiago*, of seventy-five tons, was commanded by João Serrao, a Portuguese pilot, on whose skill and knowledge of the East, especially of the Moluccas, of which they were in search, Magalhaens placed great reliance.

The fleet, which consisted of two hundred and sixty-five persons, set sail from San Lucar de Barrameda on the 21st of September, 1519, and reached what is now called Rio de Janeiro on the 13th of December. Magalhaens named it Porto de Santa Lucia. Thence they came to the Rio de la Plata, where at first they supposed they had found a channel to the Pacific; but giving up this hope, they proceeded south, and on the 31st of March, 1520, entered Port St. Julian, where Magalhaens stayed five months. Magalhaens sets sail.

After taking possession of the country for the King of Spain, by erecting a cross on a hill which they named Monte Christo, the ships set sail on the 24th of August, leaving Juan de Cartagena and Sanchez de Reino on shore, with a supply of bread and wine. Finding in the river of Santa Cruz a great abundance of fish, with wood and water, the fleet put in

there till the 18th of October, when they proceeded southward, and on the 21st reached a cape, from which the coast turned directly due west. In honor of the day, which was the feast of Saint Ursula, they named the cape Cabo de las Virgenes (Cape of the Virgins). Magalhaens then sent on two small ships to explore the inlet, but not to be absent more than five days. At the end of that time they returned with the report that while one of them had only found some bays containing many shoals, the other had sailed three days westward without finding an end to the strait, and that the tide was stronger when it flowed westward than when it ran to the east. This news was so encouraging that the whole fleet entered the channel.

Explorations on the coast of South America.

In consequence of many fires being seen on the southern shore of the strait, Magalhaens named that country Tierra del Fuego (the Land of Fire).

As they proceeded westward another arm of the sea toward the southeast made its appearance and invited examination, and the *San Antonio* was sent to explore it, with orders to return in three days. As six days passed without her reappearance, the *Vittoria* went in search of her, and subsequently the whole fleet; but as no sign appeared of her, it was concluded that she had sailed for Spain, as afterward proved to be the case. The fleet now resumed its course westward, and on the

The *San Antonio* deserts.

27th of November, 1520, thirty-seven days after the discovery of the eastern entrance, emerged from the strait into an open sea. The cape which terminated the strait at the westward on Tierra del Fuego was named Cabo Deseado (the Desired Cape), and that inflexible man, whom neither danger could deter nor death intimidate, is said to have wept tears of gratitude as he beheld this realization of his hopes. His illustrious name, as was only just, was subsequently given to the strait which had thus been traversed, although at first it was named after the *Vittoria,* which had first sighted the eastern entrance.

Magellans's hopes are realized.

Now that the great discovery was effected it was desirable to make for the warm latitudes, and Magalhaens, with the three remaining ships, the *Trinidad,* the *Vittoria,* and the *Concepcion,* steered northwest.

He reaches the Ladrones.

They crossed the line on the 13th of February, and, on the 6th of March, they had the happiness of reaching some beautiful islands, the natives of which came out to meet them in canoes, bringing cocoanuts, yams, and rice. Magalhaens would gladly have stayed here, but the pilfering habits of the people made it impossible. After some contentions on this account, at length they stole a skiff, which act Magalhaens punished by landing ninety men and firing their houses. The skiff was soon set adrift and recaptured, but the event made

Magalhaens decide on leaving these islands, which from the propensity of their inhabitants received the name of the Ladrones (the Thieves). From the Ladrones, Magalhaens steered W. and by W.S.W., and on the 16th of March reached a group of islands to which he gave the name of Archipelago de San Lazaro, a name which was afterward replaced by that of the Philippines. On the 28th of March, Magalhaens anchored off Mazagua, with the chief of which island he entered into very friendly relations. On the 31st of March, being Easter day, mass was celebrated on shore with great solemnity. The rajah, who was named Colambu, and his brother, were present, and when the Spaniards knelt in adoration, they followed their example. On the 5th of April Magalhaens sailed, under the guidance of Colambu himself, to the large island of Zebu, the King of which was Colambu's relation.

Magellan discovers the Philippines.

Being anxious to introduce the Christian religion, for which the people seemed favorably inclined, with the King's consent, he erected a stone chapel on the shore, and it having been duly consecrated, and also ornamented with tapestry and palm-branches, he landed on Sunday, the 14th of April, with many of his people, to hear mass. The procession was headed by the royal ensigns and two men in complete armor. The King and a large number of natives came to observe the ser-

He builds a chapel.

vice, and behaved with the greatest decorum. By means of the interpreter, a native of Sumatra, who had accompanied the expedition, the priest endeavored to instruct them in the Christian faith, and soon the King and the chief of Mazagua requested to be baptized.

The King is baptized.

Near Zebu was a small island named Matan, to the chief of which, who was named Cilapulapo, he sent a similar requirement that he would submit to the Christian King of Zebu, on pain of having his town, named also Matan, destroyed. The gallant chief replied that he wished to be on good terms with the Spaniards, and to prove his words, sent them a present of provisions, but absolutely refused to obey strangers of whom he knew nothing, or to submit to those whom he had long been accustomed to command. Against the advice of the King of Zebu, as well as of João Serrao, Magalhaens determined to punish the chief of Matan for his contumacy. At midnight, on the 26th of April, Magalhaens sailed for Matan with three boats and sixty men, accompanied by the King of Zebu and a thousand natives. Eleven men were left to guard the boats, and forty-nine, including Magalhaens, landed. They first set fire to some houses, when a strong body of Indians appeared in one direction, and as soon as the Spaniards had prepared to attack them, another body of Indians made their appearance from another quarter. Magalhaens was thus obliged to di-

Expedition against Matan.

vide his little band into two. The battle was kept up with projectiles during the greater part of the day, the Indians using stones, lances, and arrows, and the Spaniards their muskets and cross-bows. After a time it was perceived that the fire of the Spanish musketry was not so deadly as had been apprehended, and the islanders had further noticed that the legs of their enemies could be assailed with greater effect than their heads and bodies, which were covered with armor. Moreover, Magalhaens had detached a small party to set fire to some houses, more than twenty of which were burned, but two of the party were killed by the Indians. The latter became now bolder, and approached nearer with a view to taking the life of Magalhaens himself. A severe wound in the right leg caused him to fall forward on his face, and he was speedily despatched. In obedience to the unfortunate order which he had received, the King of Zebu and his people had remained in their canoes, looking quietly on, but seeing the failing condition of the Spaniards at the close, came to their relief and saved many of them. Eight Spaniards died with Magalhaens, and twenty-two were wounded.

Death of Magellan.

Thus fell this great navigator, second only to Columbus in the history of nautical exploration. Midway in the execution of a feat such as the world had never witnessed, the very hardihood which had already rendered

that achievement possible, had now, by degenerating into presumption, deprived him of the glory of its fulfilment.

The Spaniards who escaped elected Duarte Barbosa and the pilot João Serrao as joint commanders-in-chief. On Saturday, the 6th of September, 1522, the *Vittoria* arrived at San Lucar with eighteen survivors only of the noble fleet which had sailed from the same port on the 20th of September, 1519. Thus three years, all but fourteen days, had been expended in this most eventful and wonderful voyage—a miracle of resolute perseverance under inconceivable hardships. It was appropriate that the only ship which had effected this great achievement should have borne the name of *Vittoria,* for a victory had been gained such as the world had never witnessed. On his arrival, Del Cano, the fortunate recipient of the honors which had been toiled for and deserved by the talents and indomitable resolution of his great commander, Magalhaens, was summoned by the Emperor to Valladolid, and received with great distinction. A life pension of five hundred ducats was conferred on him, with a patent of nobility. The coat-of-arms granted him by the Emperor bore branches of the clove, cinnamon, and nutmeg trees, with a globe for a crest, and the motto, *Primus circumdedisti me.*

Only eighteen survive.

FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD

(A.D. 1520)

CHARLES KNIGHT

ON the 12th of March, 1520, a solemn instrument was prepared by Wolsey for the regulation of a meeting between Henry and Francis before the end of the following May. It was drawn up with a strict regard to an equal weighing of the honor and dignity of the two kings. The equality of their personal merits is also flatteringly asserted in this document: "As the said serene princes of England and France be like in force corporal, beauty, and gift of nature, right expert and having knowledge in the art militant, right chivalrous in arms, and in the flower and vigor of youth," they are to "take counsel and dispose themselves to do some fair feat of arms." The place of meeting was to be between the English castle of Guisnes and the French castle of Ardres. The curious *Chronicle of Calais* records that, on the 19th of March, the commissioners of King Henry landed, "to oversee the making of a palace before the castle gate of Guisnes;

Equality between Henry and Francis.

wherefore there was sent the King's master mason, master carpenter, and three hundred masons, five hundred carpenters, one hundred joiners, many painters, glaziers, tailors, smiths, and other artificers, both out of England and Flanders, to the number in all two thousand and more." The temporary palace was of stone walls and framed timber, with glazed windows, and canvas roofs. These particulars are curious, as showing how labor could be organized in England for the rapid completion of a great work, at a period when we are accustomed to think that the national industry was conducted upon a very small scale. Henry was highly flattered by the proposal of Francis, "to meet with us within our dominion, pale, and marches of Calais, whereas heretofore semblable honor of pre-eminence hath not been given by any of the French kings to our progenitors or ancestors." Wolsey took care to modify the offer, so that his sovereign's "honor of pre-eminence" should not be offensively asserted. The vast preparations at Guisnes went forward day and night to construct a palace whose principal rooms were to be larger than in any house in England—whose canvas roofs were to be "curiously garnished"—whose walls were to be flourished with "histories," which Master Barclay, the poet, was to devise; and, in despite of the fears of the directors of the work, the building approached its completion after two months' la-

Proposed meeting between them.

Vast preparations.

bor. On the 21st of May, Henry and the Queen set forth from Greenwich toward the seaside. On the 25th they arrived at Canterbury, at which city the feast of Pentecost was to be kept.

Slowly indeed had the whole court travelled, for there was something to be accomplished before the great interview at Calais should take place. Another personage was to appear upon the scene, by the merest accident, at the exact moment when he was wanted. Tidings were brought to Canterbury that Charles, the Emperor-elect, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England. He was on his passage from Spain to visit his dominions in the Netherlands. He could not pass the English shores without landing to behold the King whom he so reverenced and the aunt he so dearly loved. Wolsey hurried to Dover to welcome Charles, who landed at Hythe. The "Deus ex machinâ" was produced, to the wonderment of all spectators, and no one saw the wheels and springs of the mechanism. The politic young statesman won the hearts of the English, who rejoiced "to see the benign manner and meekness of so great a Prince." Henry came to Dover. They kept the Whitsuntide together at Canterbury, "with much joy and gladness"; and on the last day of May Charles sailed to Flanders from Sandwich, and Henry from Dover to Calais.

A royal visitor.

A politic stroke.

The character of this royal embarkation has

been handed down to us in an ancient painting. The thousands of visitors who now range freely through the state apartments of Hampton Court, and who are familiar with the solid grandeur of a modern English fleet, look with natural curiosity upon the unwieldy hulls, the decks covered with blazonry, the painted sails, of the Sixteenth Century, and think how a single steam frigate would consign all this bravery to sudden destruction. With a fair wind such a navy might safely cross the channel. The low towers of Dover have vomited forth their fire and smoke; and in a few hours the guns of Calais salute the English King. The great palace was ready, with its ceilings draped with silk, and its walls hung "with rich and marvellous cloths of arras wrought of gold and silk." But while Henry was contemplating his splendors, Wolsey was busy arranging a treaty with Francis. The friendship of England was to be secured by a renewal of the treaty of marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess Mary. There can be little doubt that at this very time the Cardinal was bound to the interests of the Emperor, with the full concurrence of his royal master. Yet the play was to be played out. Henry was to meet the French King with such a display of the magnificence of his court as might challenge any rivalry. But Francis, possessing much of the same temper, was not to be outdone in pageantry.

Appearance of the Kings.

A treaty arranged.

"To-day the French,
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English; and, to-morrow, they
Made Britain India: every man that stood,
Show'd like a mine."—*Henry VIII., Act I., Sc.* 1.

The dramatic poet has described this famous meeting in a short dialogue. Hall, the chronicler, who was present, elaborates these "fierce vanities" in many quarto pages. On the 7th of June, the two Kings met in the valley of Andren. Titian has made us acquainted with the animated features of Francis. Hall has painted him with coarser colors; as "a goodly Prince, stately of countenance, merry of cheer, brown colored, great eyes, high-nosed, big lipped, fair breasted and shoulders, small legs, and long feet." Holbein has rendered Henry familiar to us in his later years; but at this period he was described by a Venetian resident in England as "handsomer by far than the King of France. He is exceeding fair, and as well proportioned in every part as is possible. When he learned that the King of France wore a beard, he allowed his also to grow, which, being somewhat red, has at present the appearance of being of gold." It is scarcely necessary to transcribe the complimentary speeches, and the professions of affection which are related to have passed at this meeting. The two Kings did not come to the appointed valley, surrounded each with an amazing train of gorgeously apparelled gentlemen and nobles, and with a great body of

Portrait of Francis.

armed men, without some fears and suspicions on either side. The English, if we may believe the chronicler, were most wanting in honorable confidence. The English lords and their attendants moved not from their appointed ranks. "The Frenchmen suddenly brake, and many of them came into the English party, speaking fair; but for all that, the court of England and the lords kept still their array."

Mutual suspicion.

The solemnities of "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," as the place of this meeting came to be called, occupied nearly three weeks of that June of 1520. Ten days were spent in the feats of arms for which Wolsey had provided. There was tilting with lances, and tourneys on horseback with the broadsword, and fighting on foot at the barriers. The Kings were always victorious against all comers. But from the court of the Emperor there came no knight to answer the challengers. The lists were set up close to the Flemish frontier, but not a gentleman of Spain, or Flanders, or Brabant, or Burgundy, stirred to do honor to these pageantries. "By that," says Hall, "it seemed there was small love between the Emperor and the French King. On Midsummer Day the gaudy shows were over. The Kings separated after an exchange of valuable presents,—Francis to Paris, Henry to Calais. Here the English court remained till the 10th of July. It was in vain that the French King had come,

The Field of the Cloth of Gold

unattended and unarmed into the English quarter, to show his confidence in the friendship of his companion in feats of chivalry. In vain had the French nobles put all their estates upon their backs to rival the jewelled satins and velvets of England. On the 11th of July Henry met the Emperor near Gravelines; and the Emperor returned with him to Calais. After a visit of three days, Charles accomplished far more by his profound sagacity than Francis by his generous frankness. Wolsey was propitiated by presents and promises; Henry by a studied deference to his superior wisdom. Hall has recorded that during the pomps of the valley of Andren, on the 18th of June, "there blew such storms of wind and weather that marvel was to hear; for which hideous tempest some said it was a very prognostication of trouble and hatred to come between princes." The French, in this second meeting between Henry and Charles, saw the accomplishment of the foreboding beginning to take a definite form.

Meeting with Charles V.

CHARLES V. CONQUERS ITALY

(A.D. 1521—1529)

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI

THE Emperor Maximilian died on the 19th of January, 1519, leaving his hereditary states of Austria to his grandson, Charles. Italy, indeed the whole of Europe, was endangered by the immeasurable growth of this young monarch's power. The states of the Church, over which he domineered by means of his kingdom of the Two Sicilies, could not hope to preserve any independence but through an alliance with France. Leo at first thought so, and signed the preliminary articles of a league with Francis; but, suddenly changing sides, he invited Charles V. to join him in driving the French out of Italy. A secret treaty was signed between him and the Emperor on the 8th of May, 1521. The Pope united his army to that of the Emperor in the kingdom of Naples; the command of it was given jointly to Prospero Colonna and the Marquis Pescara: war was declared on the 1st of August, and the imperial and pontifical troops entered Milan on the

Secret treaty between Pope and Emperor.

Death of Leo X.

19th of November: but in the midst of the joy of this first success, Leo X. died unexpectedly, on the 1st of December, 1521.

He left his successors in a state of distress which was unjustly attributed to them, and which rendered them odious to the people; for the war into which he had plunged them, without any reasonable motive, was the most disastrous of all those which had yet afflicted unhappy Italy. There remained no power truly Italian that could take any part in it for her defence. Venice was so exhausted by the war of the League of Cambray, that she was forced to limit her efforts to the maintenance of her neutrality, and was hardly powerful enough to make even her neutral position respected. Florence remained subject to the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. The republics of Sienna and Lucca were tremblingly prepared to obey the strongest: all the rest depended on the transalpine power; for an unexpected election, on the 9th of January, 1522, had given a Flemish successor to Leo X., under the name of Adrian VI. This person had been the preceptor of Charles V., and had never seen Italy, where he was regarded as a barbarian. The kingdom of Naples was governed and plundered by the Spaniards. After the French had lost the Duchy of Milan, Francesco Sforza, who had been brought back by the imperialists, possessed only the name of sovereign. He had never been for a moment in-

State of Italy.

dependent; he had never been able to protect his subjects from the tyranny of the Spanish and German soldiers, who were his guards. Finally, the Marquis de Montferrat and the Duke of Savoy had allowed the French to become masters in their States, and had no power to refuse them passage to ravage oppressed Italy anew.

The Marshal Lautrec, whom Francis I. had charged to defend the Milanese, and who still occupied the greater part of the territory, was forced by the Swiss, who formed the sinews of his army, to attack the imperialists on the 29th of April, 1522, at Bicocca. Prospero Colonna had taken up a strong position about three or four miles from Milan, on the road to Monza: he valued himself on making a defensive war,—on being successful, without giving battle. The Swiss attacked him in front, throwing themselves, without listening to the voice of their commander, into a hollow way which covered him, and where they perished, without the possibility of resistance. After having performed prodigies of valor, the remainder were repulsed with dreadful loss. In spite of the remonstrances of Lautrec, they immediately departed for their mountains; and he for his court, to justify himself. Lescuns, his successor in the command, suffered the imperialists to surprise and pillage Lodi; and was at last forced to capitulate at Cremona on the 6th of May, and evacuate the rest of Lom-

Fabian tactics of Prospero Colonna.

bardy. Genoa was not comprehended in the capitulation, and remained still in possession of the French; but, on the 30th of May, that city also was surprised by the Spaniards, and pillaged with all the ferocity which signalized that nation. It was one of the largest depôts of commerce in the West, and the ruin of so opulent a town shook the fortune of every merchant in Europe. The general of Charles then, judging Lombardy too much exhausted to support his armies, led them to live at discretion in the provinces of his ally, the Pope. They raised among the States, still calling themselves independent, enormous subsidies to pay the soldiers, for which purpose Charles never sent money. The plague, breaking out at the same time at Rome and Florence, added to the calamities of Italy, so much the more that Adrian VI. abolished, as pagan superstition or acts of revolt against Providence, all the sanitary measures of police which had been invented to stop the spread of contagion. The Pope died on the 14th of September, 1523; and the Romans, who held him in horror, crowned his physician with laurel, as the savior of his country.

Capture and pillage of Genoa.

The death of Adrian, however, saved no one. The Cardinal Giulio de' Medici was chosen his successor, on the 18th of November, under the name of Clement VII. He was not strong enough to resist the tide of adversity. He found himself, without money and

Clement VII.

without soldiers, engaged in a war without an object: he was incapable of commanding, and nowhere found obedience.

The French were not disposed to abandon their title to Lombardy. Before the end of the campaign, Francis sent thither another army, commanded by his favorite, the Admiral Bonnivet. This admiral entered Italy by Piedmont; passed the Ticino on the 14th of September, 1523; and marched on Milan. But Prospero Colonna was admirable in the art of stopping an army, of fatiguing it by slight checks, and at last forcing it to retreat without giving battle. Bonnivet, who maintained himself on the borders of Lombardy, was forced, in the month of May following, to open himself a passage to France by Ivrea and Mont St. Bernard. The Chevalier Bayard was killed while protecting the retreat of Bonnivet, in the rearguard. The imperialists had been joined, the preceding year, by a deserter of high importance, the Constable Bourbon, one of the first princes of the blood in France, who was accompanied by many nobles. Charles V. put him, jointly with Pescara, at the head of his army, and sent him into Provence in the month of July; but, after having besieged Marseilles, he was soon constrained to retreat. Francis I., who had assembled a powerful army, again entered Lombardy, and made himself master of Milan: he next laid siege to Pavia, on the 28th of Oc-

Bonnivet enters Italy.

Death of the Chevalier Bayard.

tober. Some time was necessary for the imperialists to reassemble their army, which the campaign of Provence had disorganized. At length it approached Pavia, which had resisted through the whole winter. The King of France was pressed by all his captains to raise the siege, and to march against the enemy; but he refused, declaring that it would be a compromise of the royal dignity, and foolishly remained within his lines. He was attacked by Pescara on the 24th of February, 1525; and, after a murderous battle, made prisoner.

Battle of Pavia.

For several months, while Francis I. was besieging Pavia, he appeared the strongest power in Italy; and the Pope and Venetians, alarmed at his proximity, had treated with him anew, and pledged themselves to remain neutral. The imperial generals, after the victory, declared that these treaties with the French were offences against their master, for which they should demand satisfaction. Always without money, and pressed by the avidity of their soldiers, they sought only to discover offenders, as a pretence to raise contributions, and to let their troops live at free quarters. The Pope and the Venetians were at first disposed to join in a league for resisting their exactions; and they offered Louisa of Savoy, Regent of France, their aid to set her son Francis at liberty. But Clement VII. had not sufficient courage to sign this league:

he preferred returning again to the alliance of the Emperor and the Duke of Milan, for which he paid a considerable sum. As soon as the imperial generals had received the money, they refused to execute the treaty which they had made with him, and the Pope was obliged to go back to the Venetians and Louisa of Savoy. Meanwhile Jerome Morone, chancellor of the Duke of Milan, an old man regarded as the most able politician of his time, made overtures, which revived the hope of arming all Italy for her independence. Francesco Sforza found himself treated by the Germans and Spaniards with the greatest indignity in his own palace: his subjects were exposed to every kind of insult from an unbridled soldiery; and when he endeavored to protect them, the officers took pleasure in making him witness aggravations of injustice and outrage. The man, however, who made the German yoke press most severely on him was the Marquis Pescara, an Italian. He manifested a sort of vanity in associating himself with the Spaniards: he adopted the manners as well as pride of that nation. Morone, nevertheless, did not despair of awakening his patriotism, by exciting his ambition. Morone determined on offering Pescara the crown of Naples, if he would join his efforts to those of all the other Italians, for the deliverance of his country. Success depended on him: he could distribute the imperial troops, which

Morone plans the deliverance of Italy.

he commanded, in such a manner that they could oppose no resistance. The Duke of Milan had been warned that Charles V. intended taking his Duchy from him, to confer it on his brother, Ferdinand of Austria. The kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan were ready to pass over from the Emperor's party to that of France, provided the French king would renounce all his claims to both, acknowledge Pescara king of Naples, Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan; and restore to Italy her independence, after having delivered her from her enemies.

Negotiation at first successful.

This negotiation was at first successful; but unhappily it was intrusted to too many cabinets, all jealous, perfidious, and eager to obtain advantages for themselves by sacrificing their allies. Clement was desirous of obtaining from the Emperor a more advantageous treaty, by threatening him with France; the Queen Regent of France endeavored to engage Charles to relax his rigor toward her son, by threatening him with Italy; Pescara, reserving the choice of either betraying his master or his allies, as should prove most profitable to him, had warned Charles that he was engaged in a plot which he would reveal as soon as he had every clue to it. The Duchess of Alençon, sister of Francis, sent by her mother to negotiate at Madrid, spoke still more clearly. She offered Charles to abandon Italy, the project respecting which she disclosed,

provided the Emperor, in restoring her brother to liberty, would renounce his purpose of making him purchase it at the price of one of the provinces of France. Pescara, finding that his court knew more than he had told, determined on adopting the part of provocative agent instead of rebel; he had only to choose between them. On the 14th of October, 1525, he invited Morone to a last conference in the castle of Novara. After having made him explain all his projects anew, while Spanish officers hid behind the arras heard them, he caused him to be arrested, seized all the fortresses in the State of Milan, and laid siege to the castle, in which the Duke had shut himself up. He denounced to the Emperor as traitors, the Pope, and all the other Italians his accomplices; but while he played this odious part, he was attacked by a slow disease, of which he died on the 30th of November, 1525, at the age of thirty-six, abhorred by all Italy.

Pescara's treachery and death.

Charles, abusing the advantages which he had obtained, imposed on Francis the treaty of Madrid, signed on the 14th of January, 1526; by which the latter abandoned Italy and the Duchy of Burgundy. He was set at liberty on the 18th of March following; and almost immediately declared to the Italians that he did not regard himself bound by a treaty extorted from him by force. On the 22d of May, he signed a league for the liberty of

Treaty of Madrid.

Italy with Clement VII., the Venetians, and Francesco Sforza, but still did not abandon the policy of his mother: instead of thinking in earnest of restoring Italian independence, and thus securing the equilibrium of Europe, he had only one purpose,—that of alarming Charles with the Italians; and was ready to sacrifice them as soon as the Emperor should abandon Burgundy. At the same time, his supineness, love of pleasure, distrust of his fortune, and repugnance to violate the treaty of Madrid, hindered him from fulfilling any of the engagements which he had contracted toward the Italians; he sent them neither money, French cavalry, nor Swiss forces. Charles, on the other hand, sent no supplies to pay his armies to Antonio de Leyva, the Constable Bourbon, and Hugo de Moncada, their commanders. These troops were therefore obliged to live at free quarters, and the oppression of the whole country was still more dreadful than it had ever yet been.

Francis fails to fulfil his engagements.

Oppression of the whole country.

The defection of the Duke of Milan, in particular, gave a pretence to Antonio de Leyva to treat the wretched Milanese with redoubled rigor, as if they could be responsible for what Leyva called the treachery of their master. The Spanish army was quartered on the citizens of Milan; and there was not a soldier who did not make his host a prisoner, keeping him bound at the foot of the bed, or in the cellar, for the purpose of having him daily

at hand, to force him, by blows or fresh torture, to satisfy some new caprice. As soon as one wretched person died under his sufferings, or broke his bonds and ended his sufferings by a voluntary death, either precipitating himself through a window or into a well, the Spaniard passed into another house to recommence on its proprietor the same torture. The Venetians and the Pope had united their forces, under the command of the Duke of Urbino, who, exaggerating the tactics of Prospero Colonna, was ambitious of no other success in war than that of avoiding battle. He announced to the Senate of Venice that he would not approach Milan till the French and Swiss, whose support he had been promised, joined him. His inaction, while witnessing so many horrors, reduced the Italians to despair. Sforza, who had been nine months blockaded in the castle of Milan, and who always hoped to be delivered by the Duke of Urbino, whose colors were in sight, supported the last extremity of hunger before he surrendered to the Spaniards, on the 24th of July, 1526. The Pope, meanwhile, was far from suspecting himself in any danger; but his personal enemy, Pompeo Colonna, took advantage of the name of the imperial party to raise in the papal State 8,000 armed peasants, with whom, on the 20th of September, he surprised the Vatican, pillaged the palace, as well as the temple of St. Peter, and constrained the Pope to abjure the

Miseries of Milan.

The Vatican surprised.

alliance of France and Venice. About the same time, George de Frundsberg, a German condottiere, entered Lombardy with 13,000 adventurers, whom he had engaged to follow him, and serve the Emperor without pay, contenting themselves with the pillage of that unhappy country.

Frundsberg enters Lombardy.

Charles had given the chief command of his forces in Italy to the Constable de Bourbon, who determined to take advantage of this new army, and unite it to that for which at Milan he had now no further occasion; but it was not without great difficulty that he could persuade the Spaniards to quit that city, where they enjoyed the savage pleasure of inflicting torture on their hosts. At length, however, he succeeded in leading them to Pavia. On the 30th of January, 1527, he joined Frundsberg, who died soon after of apoplexy. Bourbon now remained alone charged with the command of this formidable army, already exceeding 25,000 men, and continually joined on its route by disbanded soldiers and brigands intent on pillage. The Constable had neither money, equipments, nor artillery, and very few cavalry; every town shut its gates on his approach, and he was often on the point of wanting provisions. He took the road to southern Italy, and entered Tuscany, still uncertain whether he should pillage Florence or Rome. The Marquis of Saluzzo, with a small army, retreated before

The Constable de Bourbon.

him; the Duke of Urbino followed in his rear, but always keeping out of reach of battle. At last, Bourbon took the road to Rome by the valley of the Tiber. On the 5th of May, 1527, he arrived before the capital of Christendom. Clement, long alarmed at his march, had, on the 15th of March, signed a truce of eight months with the Viceroy of Naples, and dismissed his troops, never imagining that one of the Emperor's lieutenants would not respect the engagements of the other. On the approach of Bourbon, however, the walls of Rome were again mounted with engines of war. The next day, the 6th of May, this renegade prince led his troops to the assault of the city. He was killed near the Janiculum, while mounting the first scaling-ladder. His fall did not stop the terrific band of robbers which he led. The victorious army scaled the walls, which were ill defended; and spread terror through the quarters of the Borgo, Vatican, and Trastevere. In a few hours they were masters of the whole city, Clement having neglected to destroy the bridges on the Tiber.

Bourbon before Rome.

His death.

The capital of Christendom was then abandoned to a pillage unparalleled in the most calamitous period—that of the first triumph of barbarism over civilization: neither Alaric the Goth, nor Genseric the Vandal, had treated it with like ferocity. Not only was all that could be seized in every house and every

Sack of Rome.

shop carried off, but the peasants of the fiefs of Colonna took possession of the heavy furniture which did not tempt the cupidity of the soldier. From the day on which these barbarians entered the city, all personal protection was withdrawn; women were abandoned to the outrages of the victors; and sanctuaries, enriched by the veneration of Christendom for twelve centuries, were devoted to spoliation. The squares before the churches were strewed with the ornaments of the altar, relics, and other sacred things, which the soldiers threw into the street after having torn off the gold and silver which adorned them. Men, women, and children were seized, whenever their captors could flatter themselves that they had concealed some treasure, or that there was any one sufficiently interested for them to pay their ransom. Every house resounded with the cries and lamentations of wretched persons thus subjected to the torture; and this dreadful state of crime and agony lasted not merely days, but was prolonged for more than nine months: it was not till the 17th of February, 1528, that the Prince of Orange, one of the French lords who had accompanied Bourbon in his rebellion, finally withdrew from Rome all of this army that vice and disease had spared. The Germans, indeed, after the first few days, had sheathed their swords, to plunge into drunkenness and the most brutal debauchery; but the Spaniards, up to the last

The sanctuaries despoiled.

The Prince of Orange withdraws his troops from Rome.

hour of their stay in Rome, indefatigable in their cold-blooded cruelty, continued to invent fresh torture to extort new ransoms from all who fell into their hands; even the plague, the consequence of so much suffering, moral and physical, which broke out amid all these horrors, did not make the rapacious Spaniard loose his prey. Cruelty of the Spaniards.

The struggle between the Italians, feebly seconded by the French, and the generals of Charles V., was prolonged yet more than two years after the sack of Rome; but it only added to the desolation of Italy, and destroyed alike in all the Italian provinces the last remains of prosperity. On the 18th of August, 1527, Henry VIII. of England and Francis I. contracted the treaty of Amiens, for the deliverance, as the two sovereigns announced, of the Pope. A powerful French army, commanded by Lautrec, entered Italy in the same month, by the province of Alexandria. They surprised Pavia on the 1st of October, and during eight days barbarously pillaged that great city, under pretence of avenging the defeat of their King under its walls. After this success, Lautrec, instead of completing the conquest of Lombardy, directed his march toward the south; renewed the alliance of France with the Duke of Ferrara, to whose son was given in marriage a daughter of Louis XII., sister of the Queen of France. He secured the friendship of the Florentine republic, which, Treaty of Amiens.

on the 17th of the preceding May, had taken advantage of the distress and captivity of the Pope, to recover its liberty, and to re-establish its government in the same form in which it stood in 1512. The Pope, learning that Lautrec had arrived at Orvieto, escaped from the castle of St. Angelo on the 9th of December, and took refuge in the French camp. The Spaniard Alarcon had detained him captive, with thirteen cardinals, during six months, in that fortress; and, though the plague had broken out there, he did not relax in his severity. After having received 400,000 ducats for his ransom, instead of releasing him, as he had engaged to do the next day, it is probable that he suffered him to escape, lest his own soldiers should arrest him in order to extort a second ransom.

The Pope takes refuge in the French camp.

Lautrec passed the Tronto to enter the Abruzzi with his powerful army on the 10th of February, 1528. The banditti whom Charles V. called his soldiers, whom he never paid, and who showed no disposition to obedience, were cantoned at Milan, Rome, and the principal cities in Italy: they divided their time between debauchery and the infliction of torture on their hosts; their officers were unable to induce them to leave the towns and advance toward the enemy. The people, in the excess of suffering, met every change with eagerness, and received Lautrec as a deliverer. He would probably have obtained complete

The people receive Lautrec as a deliverer.

success, if Francis had not just at this moment withheld the monthly advance of money which he had promised. Lautrec, on his side, although he had many qualities of a good general, was harsh, proud, and obstinate: he piqued himself on doing always the opposite of what he was counselled. Disregarding the national peculiarities of the French, he attempted in war to discipline them in slow and regular movements. He lost valuable time in Apulia, where he took and sacked Melfi, on the 23d of March, with a barbarity worthy of his adversaries, the Spaniards: he did not arrive till the 1st of May before Naples. The Prince of Orange had just entered that city with the army which had sacked Rome, but of which the greater part had been carried off by a dreadful mortality, the consequence and punishment of its vices and crimes. Instead of vigorously attacking them, Lautrec, in spite of the warm remonstrances of his officers, persisted in reducing Naples by blockade; thus exposing his army to the influence of a destructive climate. The imperial fleet was destroyed, on the 28th of May, in the gulf of Salerno, by Filippino Doria, who was in the pay of France. The inhabitants of Naples experienced the most cruel privations, and sickness soon made great havoc among them: but a malady not less fatal broke out at the same time in the French camp. The soldiers, under a burning sun, surrounded with putrid

Siege of Naples.

water, condemned to every kind of privation, harassed by the light cavalry of the enemy, infinitely superior to theirs, sank, one after the other, under pestilential fevers. In the middle of June, the French reckoned in their camp 25,000 men; by the 2d of August, there did not remain 4,000 fit for service. At this period all the springs were dry, and the troops began to suffer from hunger and thirst. Lautrec, ill as he was, had till then supported the army by his courage and invincible obstinacy; but, worn out at last, he expired on the night of the 15th of August:—almost all the other officers died in like manner. The Marquis de Saluces, on whom the command of the army devolved, felt the necessity of a retreat, but knew not how to secure it in presence of such a superior force. He tried to escape from the imperialists, by taking advantage of a tremendous storm, on the night of the 29th of August; but was soon pursued, and overtaken at Aversa, where, on the 30th, he was forced to capitulate. The magazines and hospitals at Capua were, at the same time, given up to the Spaniards. The prisoners and the sick were crowded together in the stables of the Magdalen, where contagion acquired new force. The Spaniards foresaw it, and watched with indifference the agony and death of all; for nearly all of that brilliant army perished—a few invalids only ever returned to France.

Destruction of the army.

During the same campaign another French

army, conducted by François de Bourbon, Count de St. Pol, had entered Lombardy, at the moment when Henry, Duke of Brunswick, led thither a German army. Henry, finding nothing more to pillage, announced that his mission was to punish a rebellious nation, and put to the sword all the inhabitants of the villages through which he passed. Milan was at once a prey to famine and the plague, aggravated by the cupidity and cold-blooded ferocity of Leyva, who still commanded the Spanish garrison. Leyva seized all the provisions brought in from the country; and, to profit by the general misery, resold them at an enormous price. Genoa had remained subject to the French, and was little less oppressed; none of its republican institutions were any longer respected: but a great admiral still rendered it illustrious. Andrea Doria had collected a fleet, on board of which he summoned all the enterprising spirits of Liguria: his nephew Filippino, who had just gained a victory over the imperialists, was his lieutenant. The Dorias demanded the restoration of liberty to their country as the price of their services; unable to obtain it from the French, they passed over to the imperialists. Assured by the promises of Charles, they presented themselves, on the 12th of September, before Genoa, excited their countrymen to revolt, and constrained the French to evacuate the town: they made themselves masters of Savona on

Andrea Doria.

the 21st of October, and a few days afterward of Castelletto. Doria then proclaimed the Republic, and re-established once more the freedom of Genoa, at the moment when all freedom was near its end in Italy. The winter passed in suffering and inaction. The following year, Antonio de Leyva surprised the Count de St. Pol at Landriano, on the 21st of June, 1529, and made him prisoner, with all the principal officers of the French army. The rest dispersed or returned to France. This was the last military incident in this dreadful war.

Freedom of Genoa established.

Peace was ardently desired on all sides; negotiations were actively carried on; but every potentate sought to deceive his ally, in order to obtain better conditions from his adversary. Margaret of Austria, the sister of the Emperor's father, and Louisa of Savoy, the mother of the King of France, met at Cambray; and in conference, to which no witnesses were admitted, arranged what was called *Le traité des dames.* Clement VII. had at the same time a nuncio at Barcelona, who negotiated with the Emperor. The latter was impatient to arrange the affairs of Italy, in order to pass into Germany. Not only had Soliman invaded Austria, and, on the 13th of September, arrived under the walls of Vienna, but the Reformation of Luther excited in all the north of Germany a continually increasing ferment. On the 20th of June,

Soliman invades Austria.

1529, Charles signed at Barcelona a treaty of perpetual alliance with the Pope: by it he engaged to sacrifice the republic of Florence to the Pope's vengeance, and to place in the service of Clement, in order to accomplish it, all the brigands who had previously devastated Italy. Florence was to be given in sovereignty to the bastard Alexander de' Medici, who was to marry an illegitimate daughter of Charles V. On August 5th following, Louisa and Margaret signed the treaty of Cambray, by which France abandoned, without reserve, all its Italian allies to the caprices of Charles; who, on his side, renounced Burgundy, and restored to Francis his two sons, who had been retained as hostages. Charles arrived at Genoa, on board the fleet of Andrea Doria, on the 12th of August. The Pope awaited him at Bologna, into which he made his entry on the 5th of November. He summoned thither all the princes of Italy, or their deputies, and treated them with more moderation than might have been expected after the shameful abandonment of them by France. As he knew the health of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to be in a declining state, which promised but few years of life, he granted him the restitution of his Duchy for the sum of 900,000 ducats, which Sforza was to pay at different terms: they had not all fallen due when that Prince died, on the 24th of October, 1535, without issue, and his estates

Treaty of Cambray.

Milan falls to Charles.

Charles grants peace to the Venetians.

escheated to the Emperor. On the 23d of December, 1529, Charles granted peace to the Venetians; who restored him only some places in Apulia, and gave up Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope. On the 20th of March, Alphonso d'Este also signed a treaty, by which he referred his differences with the Pope to the arbitration of the Emperor. Charles did not pronounce on them till the following year. He conferred on Alphonso the possession of Modena, Reggio, and Rubbiera, as fiefs of the Empire; and he made the Pope give him the investiture of Ferrara. On the 15th of March, 1530, a diploma of the Emperor raised the marquisate of Mantua to a duchy, in favor of Frederick de Gonzaga. The Duke of Savoy and the Marquis de Montferrat, till then protected by France, arrived at Bologna, to place themselves under the protection of the Emperor. The Duke of Urbino was recommended to him by the Venetians, and obtained some promises of favor. The republics of Genoa, Sienna, and Lucca had permission to vegetate under the imperial protection; and Charles, having received from the Pope, at Bologna, on the 22d of February and 24th of March, the two crowns of Lombardy and of the Empire, departed in the beginning of April for Germany, in order to escape witnessing the odious service, in which he consented that his troops should be employed against Florence.

He receives the double crown.

The evil destiny of Italy was accomplished. Charles VIII., when he first invaded that country, opened its gates to all the transalpine nations; from that period Italy was ravaged, during thirty-six years, by Germans, French, Spaniards, Swiss, and even Turks. They inflicted on her calamities beyond example in history; calamities so much the more keenly felt, as the sufferers were more civilized, and the authors more barbarous. The French invasion ended in giving to the greatest enemies of France the dominion of that country, so rich, so industrious, and of which the possession was sought ardently by all. Never would the house of Austria have achieved the conquest of Italy, if Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I. had not previously destroyed the wealth and military organization of the nation; if they had not themselves introduced the Spaniards into the kingdom of Naples, and the Germans into the states of Venice; forgetting that both must soon after be subject to Charles V. The independence of Italy would have been beneficial to France: the rapacious and improvident policy which made France seek subjects where it should only have sought allies was the origin of a long train of disasters to the French.

Italy's calamities.

France overreaches herself.

A period of three centuries of weakness, humiliation, and suffering in Italy began in the year 1530: from that time she was always op-

pressed by foreigners, and enervated and corrupted by her masters. These last reproached her with the vices of which they were themselves the authors. After having reduced her to the impossibility of resisting, they accused her of cowardice when she submitted, and of rebellion when she made efforts to vindicate herself. The Italians, during this long period of slavery, were agitated with the desire of becoming once more a nation: as, however, they had lost the direction of their own affairs, they ceased to have any history which could be called theirs; their misfortunes became but episodes in the histories of other nations.

Italy loses her liberties.

LIBERATION OF GENOA: ANDREA DORIA

(A.D. 1528)

G. B. MALLESON

IN the year 1528, Andrea Doria transferred the suzerainty of Genoa from François I. of France to Charles V. of Spain. Promptly presenting himself with his fleet before Genoa, he entered the city, and thus addressed the assembled citizens: "At last the liberty so much desired is restored. But what advantage will it be to you unless you try to preserve it? I, indeed, have left no stone unturned to obtain it for you; and since, following the example of my ancestors, I have devoted myself to the naval service, I have chosen friends and enemies alike for the service of the Republic, having her interests in view more than my own. My only wish has been to save her from oppression. Thus, first I tolerated the faction of the Fregosi, not because I liked them, but because I knew that in the terribly corrupted state of affairs the wrongs of the country were rather to be wept over than cured. But since I attained to the command of the fleet you know well if I have

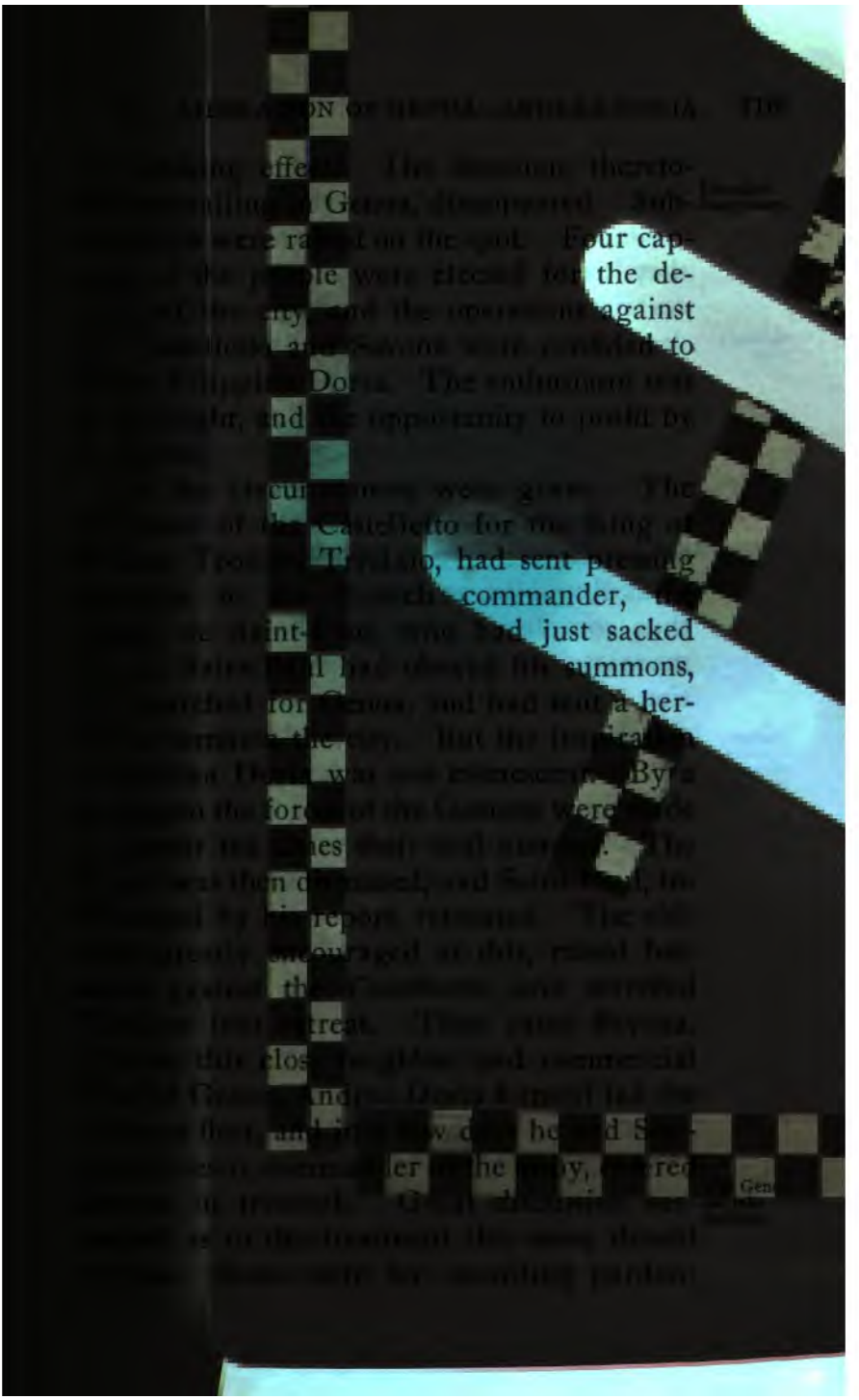
Andrea Doria's address.

Reason for seizing power.

not inflicted damage on all your enemies; you know well how I treated the Adorni, the cause of so many misfortunes, and how I favored France in order to expel them. You know how I have purged your seas of pirates. And you have seen just how, the French yoke having become insupportable, I have, at my own danger and risk, changed the suzerainty, to be able to devote myself entirely to your safety. I should not, indeed, have come to this resolution if the King, as a reward for my victory in Sicily, had not refused to restore us Savona. Now that the city is delivered from the French, we see the happy beginning of a work which must be completed. To arms then; let the love of country be your tutelary god; let us expel the enemy from the Castelletto; let us dismantle the hated forts of Savona. How can France, engaged in distant wars, hinder us? Our greatest enemies are our own divisions. Let us then, first of all, apply our minds seriously to cure these festering wounds, that we may be able to enjoy the fruits of our victories. You have already appointed a minister for that purpose; yet why is there delay in taking measures to carry it out? I am here, ready for all your needs; and as I have ever devoted my life and my means to the country, so now will I persevere in serving it with as much, or even greater, zeal."

Love of country a tutelary god.

These words, spoken on September 12 by *the first* citizen of his country, had a marked



others for treating her as a conquered foe. The former counsels, urged by Agostino Pallavicino, prevailed—perhaps, indeed, because they were accompanied by conditions more certain to effect the desired end. Savona, indeed, was spared; but the walls of the city and all the fortifications were razed, and in the harbor were sunk ships full of stones. Savona received a blow from which, up to the present day, she has not recovered.

Savona's ruin.

The towns of Novi, Ovada and Gavi followed the example of submission to the victorious Republic, and the work of conquest was thus completed. But on that followed the more serious question of internal rehabilitation. The first step was to proclaim perfect equality among all citizens, classing them under twenty-eight families, called Alberghi, describing each by some name illustrious above the others for its merits, its importance, and its wealth. Then, on October 11, the Code of new laws was published. These were to the following effect: 1. That a list of nobles should be made, entitled the Nobles of the Golden Book; that to these should be committed the government of the Republic; and that to them others might also be added, the power of nominating them being vested in the Senate.

Perfect equality of citizens proclaimed.

The Golden Book.

2. That the Greater Council should be composed of four hundred nobles, three hundred of them to be elected by lot, and these three

hundred to elect a fourth hundred. This Council to possess full powers.

3. That from these four hundred should be taken by lot one hundred to form a Lesser Council, to deliberate upon matters of minor importance, and elect the city magistrates.

4. That from the Greater Council should be chosen eight Senators, forming, with the Doge, the executive power.

5. That the Doge should be President of the Senate, and preside at the Greater and Lesser Councils. In the Senate he alone had the right to refuse to submit any proposition to the vote.

6. That the two Councils should last for one year; they were then to be dissolved, and fresh elections to take place. The Senators to hold office for two years, but at the end of each six months two of them were to retire, to be replaced from the Greater Council. The two Councils.

7. Eight procurators should preside at the treasury, to be composed of ex-Senators and ex-Doges. The Senators and the procurators, united, were to be called the "two colleges." Under this name they would have in common many administrative functions. The "Two Colleges."

8. That a magistracy of five censors should be appointed to see that the laws did not fall into disuse; they to have supreme authority to control all the other magistrates, and power to inflict punishment when necessary.

This constitution was at once put into opera-

tion. Oberto Lazzaro Cattaneo was elected Doge, the thirty-first of that title; Andrea Doria, who cared rather to pull the strings than to occupy a prominent position in the civil administration, was proclaimed Perpetual President of the Censors. A chair and an honorable rank in the two Councils were assigned him. On the Piazza San Matteo, a new palace was built for him at the public expense, bearing the dedication "to the Redeemer of his Country"; while in the public palace there was erected, in his honor, a marble statue "to the Avenger of his Country and the Founder of her Liberties." This statue and statues of other members of the family were attacked and broken by the mob, at a period of public frenzy, in 1797. The Golden Book was burned at the same time.

Honors to Doria.

The constitution, of which I have given the purport, continued, with only one material alteration, to be the constitution of Genoa during the lifetime of Andrea Doria. It well answered the purpose for which it was designed. For the first time in the history of Genoa, her institutions were tolerably secure, alike from personal ambition and popular clamor. This constitution, too, formed the basis of that of 1576, which lasted two hundred and twenty years, and which disappeared only when submerged by the wave of conquest born of the French Revolution.

Genoa's constitution.

It will be noticed that the constitution was

essentially aristocratic. For although perfect equality had been proclaimed, although all citizens had been declared capable of holding office in the Republic, yet the constitution was so formed that, practically, none but the nobles were really admissible. The men who had formed that constitution had had before them a task apparently of the very greatest difficulty. For, having in the first day of triumph said to the people, "There are no more distinctions between us; you are all, as we, nobles," it would seem impossible, on the very morrow of the final victory, to recede. But yet it was done, and, apparently, with the consent of all. The institution of the Golden Book was the keystone of the new arrangement. An order of hereditary nobility was thus formed, to which the working of the machine of government was intrusted; for the Greater Council, the pivot on which the administration revolved, was composed only of men whose names were inscribed in the Golden Book.

The constitution essentially aristocratic.

But that which rendered the new scheme acceptable to the majority was the necessity for the creation of new nobles. Of the more than one hundred and fifty families of the old nobility, only thirty-five remained. To these were added more than four hundred names newly ennobled. But, in order to maintain pure and intact the order of nobility, it was decided, as has been already stated, that not

Necessity for creating new nobles.

the names, but the bearers of them only, should be ennobled, and that these should be affiliated to, or grafted on, such old illustrious families as could boast of six living branches. Of these old illustrious families but thirty-five survived; and of these thirty-five, but twenty-three fulfilled the required condition. But there were other families as ancient as these twenty-three who had always claimed the privilege of belonging to the people. Of these, five, the Giustiniani, the Fornari, the Franchi, the Saoli, and the Promontori, possessed the requisite number of branches. To these twenty-eight families, all the nobles, old and new, were affiliated. There were then but twenty-eight noble houses in Genoa.

The old noble families.

Yet the union was more nominal than real. The old families, those of the Portico Vecchio, as they were called, despised their new coadjutors, while these, on their side, styled of the Portico Nuovo, entertained the profoundest jealousy of their rivals. A sort of understanding was, however, come to between them. It was agreed verbally, though not recorded, that the offices of state should be divided equally between the two Portici, and that the Doge, whose office was biennial, should be chosen alternately from each. Both these stipulations were watched with jealousy, and it was the infraction of one of them that contributed to the general distrust which made possible the success of a conspiracy.

Jealousy of rival officers.

Andrea Doria belonged to the Portico Vecchio. His position, after the events of 1528, was peculiar. Admiral of the fleet, nominated in 1532 Prince of Melfi by the Emperor Charles V., he held no administrative office in the state, and yet he dominated all the administrators. His fleet he held at the orders of the protector of the Republic, Charles V. It was manned by officers and men devoted to him. In the Councils he exercised no authority, yet his opinion was anxiously sought for, and always eagerly followed. He was, in fact, a state within a state, impressing his will upon the latter solely by means of his vast moral influence and force of character.

Andrea Doria's position.

His moral influence.

His mode of living was remarkable. He kept no state; he walked without a following. He had soft, pleasant manners, was accessible to all, was generous and liberal in his presents, and as courteous to the beggar as to the noble. His services to Genoa had been great. He was the living representative of her glory, the wielder of her armed force, and yet, to all outward appearance, the humblest of her citizens.

[The Turks storm Belgrade (1521). Xavier, the "Apostle of the Indies," begins his mission; and Rhodes surrenders to the Turks, the Knights at first taking refuge in Italy (1522). The Union of Calmar is finally dissolved; Christian II. is deposed; Frederic I., Duke of

Gustavus Vasa.

Schleswig-Holstein, becomes King of Denmark, and Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden. The territories of the Teutonic Order are secularized; Albert of Brandenburg, Grand Master, becomes Duke of Prussia (1521). The Hungarians are defeated by the Turks at Mohacz. Louis, the last Jagellon king, is drowned in flight. The Turks take Buda, ravage the country, and burn the great library of Matthis Corvinus. Baber puts an end to the Afghan dominion and founds the empire of the Great Moguls (1526). The Medici are expelled and the Republic of Florence is restored (1527). Bengal is made tributary by Baber (1529). The Emperor gives Malta to the Knights of St. John (1530). The Anabaptists revolt and commit excesses at Munster under John of Leyden (1535), but are soon suppressed. Charles V. takes Tunis from Barbarossa and releases 20,000 Christian captives. Christian III. takes Copenhagen and establishes the Reformation in Denmark. The Turks form a league with France,—their first alliance with any Christian State (1536). A Papal Bull declares the native Americans to be rational beings (1537). In 1539, De Soto lands in Florida and advances northwest to the Mississippi, where he dies; the survivors of the expedition build boats and sail to Mexico (1543).]

Baber founds the empire of the Great Moguls.

De Soto advances to the Mississippi.

SUPPRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES

(A.D. 1534)

DAVID HUME

THERE was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion: this measure was, the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present opportunity seemed favorable for that great enterprise, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and increased the royal authority: and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the King's resentment was further incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humor of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser mon-

The King determines upon destroying the monasteries.

asteries, that nothing could withstand the King's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as several of the abbots since the breach with Rome had been named by the court with a view to this event, the King's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success that in less than two years the King had possession of all the monastic revenues.

Means employed.

Attempts to preserve convents.

In several places, particularly in the County of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were

more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honorable and agreeable, from the inutility, and often want, which attended her situation. But the King was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The relics also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin, shown in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the headache; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much

Relics exposed to ridicule.

reverenced by big-bellied women; some relics, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the Catholic religion.

Impostures. There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales in the County of Gloucester there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relic was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relic; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks who were let into the secret had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: they put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then, finding his money, or pa-

tience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial.

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's-Cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol, revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought to London, and cut in pieces: and by a cruel refinement in vengeance it was employed as fuel to burn Friar Forrest, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the King's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of the pledge.

Darvel Gatherin.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages toward his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his relics

St. Thomas of Canterbury.

wrought in favor of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honor, which lasted fifteen days: plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion toward him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and sixpence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and sixpence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and threepence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eightpence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and threepence. Louis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St.

His offerings.

Thomas: he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air. His shrine and memory desecrated.

On the whole, the King at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries; of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in Parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. It is worthy of observation that all the lands and possessions and revenues of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenue of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired.

Great murmurs were everywhere excited on account of these violences; and men much General discontent

The King binds the new proprietors to support the ancient hospitality.

offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

(A.D. 1540)

RICHARD LODGE

Protestant doctrines in Italy.

THE Reformation is usually regarded as a movement which was confined to the northern nations of Europe. But it also exercised a considerable influence in Italy, the stronghold of the Papal power. The Italian Renaissance had produced among its pupils a negative and somewhat contemptuous attitude toward religion, and this was confirmed by continual contact with the most flagrant ecclesiastical abuses. But there were not wanting earnest-minded men who were anxious to remove rather than to satirize these abuses, and who were actuated by the true spirit of the Reformation. It has been conclusively shown that Luther's special doctrine, that of justification by faith, found numerous adherents in Italy. It was held by Contarini, Sadolet, Bembo and other cardinals of the Church. It was preached in Naples by Juan Valdez, a Spaniard, in Siena by Bernardino Ochino, and in Lucca by Peter Martyr. An anonymous work, *Of the Benefits of Christ's*

Death, which maintained this doctrine, was published in 1540 and obtained a very large circulation. As compared with this doctrinal agreement, practical reforms were far simpler and were urged with greater unanimity.

Compromise with Protestantism.

The natural impulse of these reforming tendencies was to bring about some compromise with Protestantism and so to preserve the unity of the Church. This, as has been seen, was attempted at the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541, where the Pope was represented by Cardinal Contarini. But several causes combined to frustrate the attempt. The desire for reform was confined to the cultivated classes in Italy, and found little adherence among the people. The traditional policy of the Papacy was opposed to any concessions which might strengthen its old rival, the Empire. And the influence of the French King was employed to prevent a reconciliation between Charles V. and the German Protestants. The prospect of a compromise thus proved hopeless, and the reforming tendencies took another direction. An attempt was made to purify, and so to strengthen the Roman Catholic Church, that it might be able to confront its Protestant enemies on an equal footing. It is this movement which has received the name of the Counter-Reformation.

New religious orders; the Jesuits.

The spirit of the movement is manifested in the numerous orde ned in the Sixteenth C purity

and self-sacrifice which had once characterized the older orders, but had been lost in their degradation. Such were the Theatines, founded in Rome by Caraffa, and the Barnabites, a Lombard order in Milan. But by far the most active and important of these new associations was that of the Jesuits. Their founder was Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish knight, born in the year 1491. At the siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, he was crippled by a cannon shot. During the forced inaction of his illness he read the legends of the saints, which exerted a marvellous influence on his excitable and visionary nature. He determined to emulate their achievements, and to resign his dreams of military glory for the more heroic service of the Virgin. After numerous pilgrimages he took up his abode in Paris, and there in middle age set to work to complete his neglected education. Among his fellow students he found and gained over the men who were to assist him in his great task. These were Francis Xavier, Iago Lainez, Salmeron and Bobadilla, all Spaniards, and Peter Faber, a Savoyard. In 1534, these enthusiasts bound themselves by an oath to sever themselves from the world and to devote their lives to the service of the Church. Two years later they appeared in Rome, and after many rebuffs and difficulties [illegible] obtained from Pope Paul [illegible] constituted them "The [illegible] 1540.) To

Ignatius Loyola.

His companions.

their three vows of chastity, poverty and obedience they added an oath to carry out the commands of the Pope without hesitation or delay. Thus the Papacy, at a time when Europe seemed to be slipping from its grasp, received the voluntary assistance of a body of devoted men, who were destined to revive its power and influence. The order obtained the right to elect their own general, and their choice fell at once upon their founder. On Loyola's death, in 1556, he was succeeded by Lainez, a man of far less mystical enthusiasm, but endowed with greater administrative ability. To him the order owes the constitution which has made it the wonder and the model of later associations.

Secret of success.

The secret of the success of the Jesuits lay in their complete severance from all ordinary ties, from home, family and friendship, and their entire devotion to the interests of their order. Obedience was the cardinal duty which swallowed up all other motives. They renounced, on taking the vows, all right of private judgment, and blindly submitted themselves to the orders of their superiors. The order was divided into grades of varying authority, but the whole formed one vast machine which was wielded at will by the general. To enable the Jesuits to devote themselves to their special work, they were relieved from the ordinary duties of monastic orders. Thus they were not bound to the perform-

ance of the routine religious exercises of each day. Paul IV. wished to withdraw this privilege, but Lainez refused to submit, and the danger was removed by the Pope's death. From the first the Jesuits occupied a unique position among religious associations. They aroused none of the prejudices which had now grown up against monks, and they could appeal to a wider circle of sympathies. To ordinary men and women they appeared as men of the world rather than ecclesiastics. Nothing was too high or too low for them. Politics occupied great part of their attention, and here they conspicuously displayed that subordination of the means to the end which has since been a ground of accusation against them. But for a time they were very successful, and became influential advisers of kings and ministers. They also exercised great influence through the confessional, that most potent instrument of the Roman Catholic priesthood. But their power was made durable not so much by their activity as preachers and confessors, nor even by the political doctrines which they skilfully varied to suit different countries and peoples, as by their devotion to education. The Jesuit schools became the best in Europe. The thoroughness of the system which they formulated, and the fact that they taught gratis, enabled them to supersede the humanist teachers, who had hitherto claimed a monopoly of learning and enlight-

Part played in politics.

Jesuit schools.

enment. By gaining over the youth of Catholic countries, they secured their hold over future generations. The Papacy owed a great debt to the order of Loyola, which carried on a crusade against Protestantism with the military devotion and enthusiasm that characterized its founder.

The Counter-Reformation was compelled, by the instinct of self-preservation, to suppress the reforming tendencies in Italy to which it owed its origin. In 1542, Paul III., the very Pope who had shown the greatest inclination to reform, established the Inquisition in Rome on the Spanish model. The bull appointed six cardinals, of whom Caraffa was the most prominent, and empowered them to try all matters of faith and to inflict the penalties of death and confiscation upon heretics. These powers were exercised with unflinching severity. The most conspicuous reformers, as Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr, left Italy. Not content with persecuting the professors of heretical doctrines, it was determined to suppress the books in which those doctrines were maintained. The first Index, or list of proscribed writings, was published in Rome by Paul IV., who, as Cardinal Caraffa, had been the guiding spirit of the Inquisition. A regular book-police was instituted, and, supported by the secular authorities, its work was carried out with marvellous efficiency.

The Inquisition.

The Index.

There was one demand of the reforming party which could not be wholly refused, but which produced in the end very unexpected results. This was the summons of a general council. The Pope hesitated for a long time to comply with this request, though it was advanced even by Catholic princes. At last, at the urgent instance of Charles V., Paul III. summoned a council to meet in Trent at the end of 1545. The first session was short, and was deprived of importance by a quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope. Charles V. wished the council to make such reforms in the church as would enable him to come to terms with the German Protestants. The Pope's object, on the other hand, was to strengthen his own authority and to condemn all doctrinal heresy. Charles' successes in Germany terrified Paul III. for his own independence, and, in 1547, he suddenly transferred the council to Bologna. The Emperor, deeply indignant at this, protested that its decrees would now be null and void, and the council separated without having effected any important result. Paul III.'s successor, Julius III. (1550-1555), was an adherent of the Emperor, and was induced to convene the council again at Trent in 1551. But the Pope's views were still opposed to any of the concessions which were desired by Charles. The Protestants, who appeared at Trent, were treated as recusant heretics, with whom there could be

The Council of Trent.

It is re-convened.

no equal negotiation. All doctrinal points which came up for discussion, such as transubstantiation, were settled in accordance with the strictly orthodox views. But before any progress had been made in this direction, the advance of Maurice of Saxony led to the sudden breaking up of the council in 1552.

Paul IV. (1555-1559) was the representative Pope of the counter-reformation. It was he who had organized the Inquisition, and who drew up the Index. At first his hatred of the Hapsburgs diverted his attention to political affairs, and led him to confer great powers on his nephews. But on the termination of the war he altered his policy, devoted himself to establish the strictest ecclesiastical discipline, and drove all his relatives from the court. From this time nepotism, in the sense of the advancement of relatives to political power, came to an end. This had been the most flagrant vice of the Papacy, and had done much to bring it into discredit. Its removal was an important step toward the regeneration of the Romish Church.

Paul IV. abolishes nepotism.

Under Paul IV. the demand for a general council had again been raised. His successor, Pius IV. (1559-1565), gave his consent, and the third, and far the most important, session of the Council of Trent was opened in January, 1562. This session differed from the others mainly in the fact that there was no longer any idea of a reconciliation with the

The Council again meets.

Protestants, whose position in Germany had been secured by the treaty of Augsburg. The work of the council was therefore limited to the narrow circle of the Catholic nations. Within these limits it had important duties —to determine the relations between the head and the members of the Church, to settle doctrinal points which were still disputed, and to complete those internal reforms which were needed to restore the old reverence for the Church.

Important duties of the council.

It was soon evident that even among the Catholics there were grave divergences of opinion, and in especial the papal authority was exposed to attack. The Germans, acting under instructions from Ferdinand I., demanded radical reforms, such as the marriage of the clergy, the communion in both kinds, and services in the German language. The French prelates, headed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, not only supported the German demands, but took up the doctrine advanced in the last century at Constance and Basel of the superiority of a general council over the Pope. The Spaniards, while they were opposed to all doctrinal reforms, wished the episcopal authority to be recognized as of divine origin, and thus independent of the Papacy. All were opposed to the claim advanced by the papal legates to have the sole right of bringing proposals before the council. It was fortunate for the Papacy that votes were no

Diver-gences of opinion.

longer taken by nations as at Constance. The Italians still outnumbered the representatives of all other nations, and their interests, which were more powerful than their consciences, were on the papal side. But Pius IV. felt he was threatened by the dangers which his predecessors had always dreaded from a general council. From these he was saved partly by his own ingenuity, but still more by the dexterous diplomacy of Cardinal Morone, whom he appointed president of the council. The differences between the various nations were carefully fomented and points of concord obscured. Separate negotiations were opened with the temporal princes, and they were persuaded that the papal authority was needed to repress the growth of an independent hierarchy. At the same time it was hinted to the bishops that a strong Papacy was their only security against complete subjection to the temporal power.

Diplomacy of Pius IV.

The triumph of the Papacy being thus assured, the work of the council proceeded with marvellous rapidity. The Pope was anxious to bring it to a close, and he met with little or no opposition. In the latter half of the year 1563 a decision was come to on all important dogmatic points, indulgences, purgatory, the ordination of the clergy, the sacrament of marriage, and the worship of saints. And almost all were decided in the old Roman Catholic sense. The foremost spokes-

Triumph of the Papacy.

man of the strictly orthodox party was Lainez, the general of the Jesuits. Differences were avoided by dexterous verbal compromises, which meant nothing, as the interpretation of the decrees was vested in the Pope. Reforms were made in the direction of enforcing strict discipline over the inferior clergy, the establishment of schools, and a new regulation of parishes. But no further mention was made of reforming the central authority, the Papacy, the cardinals, and the curia. So far from maintaining its supremacy over the Pope, the council itself petitioned Pius IV. to confirm its decrees. On the 4th of December, 1563, the last sitting came to an end.

Reforms.

The Council of Trent was the last of the great ecclesiastical assemblies which are so prominent in medieval history. It had no successor till the meeting of the Vatican Council in 1869. Its importance lies in the fact that it completed the counter-Reformation. In opposition to the Protestant revolt, it formulated the old doctrines with logical distinctness. The traditions which had hitherto been open to question were henceforth established dogmas. The Catholic Church had to content itself with narrower limits, but within those limits it acquired new strength and consistency. While many of the worst abuses were removed or concealed, the old hierarchical constitution, and, above all, the despotic authority of the Papacy, received

Importance of the Council of Trent.

Advantages to the Church.

a new confirmation. These were the advantages which the Roman Catholic Church reaped from the Reformation, advantages which almost compensated it for the loss of territory.

[The Portuguese form a commercial treaty with Japan (1542). Peace is concluded between the northern powers and the Emperor; the free navigation of the Baltic is conceded to the Flemings,—a severe blow to the Hanseatic trade (1544). Francis I. persecutes the Vaudois; and the mines of Potosi are discovered (1545). The Portuguese colonize Brazil (1549). The Turks take Tripoli from the Knights of St. John (1551). The Liturgy of Edward VI. is published (1549-1552). Socinus propagates his heresy in Poland (1553).

Mercator's chart.

Mary I. restores the Romish religion in England (1553); and persecutes the Protestants (1555); Mercator constructs his chart (1556).]

THE REIGN OF AKBAR

(A.D. 1556—1605)

EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN

AKBAR, the third Mogul Emperor, reigned from 1556 to 1605, being, during the greater part of that time, a contemporary of Shah Abbas the Great. But as an average Grand Mogul was far better than an average Sophi, so the most illustrious of the Moguls rises immeasurably above the most illustrious of the Sophis. If any man can be pardoned for running headlong into every sort of iniquity, it is one who finds himself possessed of uncontrolled power from his childhood. Yet Akbar went unscathed through this fearful ordeal. He ascended an Eastern throne at the age of thirteen, and reigned nearly half a century without a recorded crime. His first recorded action is worthy of his subsequent course. His tutor, Behram Khan, a bigoted Shiah Moslem, caused an Afghan chief, captive and wounded, to be brought before the young Emperor, whom he bade strike him again, in order, by shedding infidel blood, to win the rank of

Akbar's first recorded action.

Ghazi. The noble boy refused the odious task, and Behram smote off the captive's head with his own hand.

Akbar's wars.

Akbar was engaged in wars during his whole reign; but in an Eastern prince we can not harshly condemn even what we might deem unrighteous aggression. Akbar's wars, however, were chiefly waged to recover provinces to which he could pretend some shadow of right; they were far less unjust than those cruel attacks upon France which have won immortality for Edward III. and Henry V. His wars, moreover, were carried on with a moderation most unusual in Eastern lands; nations were subdued only to subject them to a far better sway than they had previously known, and the conquered constantly became the most loyal subjects of the conqueror. His legislation was in every way beneficent and humane; his flatterers undoubtedly attribute to him much that was really the work of earlier kings; but it was needless to rob others of their praise to exalt an Eastern king who, at eighteen, forbade the sale of prisoners of war as slaves, and who instructed all his governors to be sparing of the punishment of death, and never to inflict it in a lingering form. As far as my acquaintance with his actions extends, I can not find that he was ever guilty of a massacre or an unjust execution. Of how many Eastern despots can we say the like?

Akbar's humanity.

The faults of Akbar's character appear to

have been a very considerable amount of personal vanity, and a certain disposition to over-meddling with the private affairs of his subjects. His government was truly paternal; but he descended too much into trifling and puerile regulations. His *Institutes* contain too many vague moral precepts which it is hardly the business of a sovereign to instil into his subjects. A legislator may either allow or forbid polygamy; but he need hardly inform his people that their Emperor "does not approve of a man marrying more than one wife, nor of a young man marrying an old woman." I do not know how far Akbar's own practice was conformable to his precepts on the latter head; certainly, on the former, he claimed, like Mahomet, exemptions for himself. The imperial seraglio was far from empty. It was weak also and hardly tolerant to insist upon men shaving their chins, with whom it was a matter of conscience to do otherwise; nor should he have insisted on prostrations to himself, which orthodox Mussulmans thought idolatrous.

Akbar's faults.

But what are defects like these when set against such an oasis in the desert of Oriental history as a forty-nine years' reign of justice, humanity, and toleration? From the beginning, Indian Mahometanism lost something of its native intolerance. I remember a newspaper full of zeal for the Grand Turk, pointing to the tolerance of the

Akbar's tolerance.

Grand Mogul, as an unanswerable argument in favor of the former. Call Mahometanism intolerant! Look at Akbar! Very good. Akbar was the most tolerant of rulers; but was he a Mahometan? He was brought up in that faith; he professed it on his death-bed; but the mature judgment of his vigorous intellect rejected it during the long years of his glory. From the very first, he admitted men of all creeds to the highest offices; Hindoo Rajahs alternate with Moslem Khans among the great dignitaries of the empire. He abolished the pilgrim tax; he abolished the jezia, or capitation tax, the permanent badge of degradation upon the giaour. He listened attentively to the religious teachers of all sects and ended by putting forth a system of his own, to which, however, he constrained no man.

Was he a Mahometan?

By the creed of Akbar exclusive reverence for Mahomet or any human prophet was rejected. This eclectic creed, however, made but few converts. Akbar fully tolerated all creeds. He persecuted neither Moslem nor Hindoo; but he withdrew all legal sanction from any portion of their systems. The Moslem might, if he pleased, drink wine, eat pork, play at dice, and cease to frequent the mosque; he might not, by premature circumcision, commit an infant to a faith which he could not examine. The Hindoo widow might marry again, and she might not be burned

His creed.

against her will. He is said, however, which seems at variance with his general system, to have forbidden the slaughter of animals for sacrifice.

For him to continue the date of the Hejira would have been absurd when Islam was no longer the dominant religion; he therefore established an era dating from his own accession, and he had the good sense to make his year solar instead of lunar. The result of all this was strongly to endear his government to the mass of the Hindoo people, who now at last found themselves raised to a perfect equality with their conquerors. The valiant Rajpoots became the most loyal soldiers in the imperial army. The corresponding result was great dissatisfaction among the Mussulman population. Their creed, as under the elder Moguls of Persia, was discouraged; it was brought down from its eminence, and was obliged to meet other creeds on equal terms. Many zealots strongly opposed the imperial projects, and they met with a corresponding proportion of imperial disfavor. But no man was harmed in life, limb, or estate. Akbar's persecution went no further than ordering one bigot out of the presence-chamber, and telling another that he *deserved* a blow. He never deviated from the noble principles of toleration set forth by his minister, Abul Fazl, in the Preface to his *Institutes*—principles totally unknown in any

He establishes a new era.

other contemporary state, European or Asiatic, Mahometan or Christian, Catholic or Protestant: "Persecution, after all, defeats its own ends; it obliges men to conceal their opinions, but produces no change in them."

Persecution defeats its own ends.

BATTLE OF ST. QUENTIN AND THE LOSS OF CALAIS

(A.D. 1558)

CHARLES KNIGHT

AN English force of four thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and two thousand pioneers, joined the Spanish army on the Flemish frontier. That army was partly composed of German mercenaries; the lanzknechts and reiters, the pikemen and cavalry, who, at the command of the best paymaster, were the most formidable soldiers of the time. But the Spanish cavaliers were there, leading their native infantry; and there the Burgundian lances. The army was commanded by Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who had aspired to the hand of Elizabeth. Philip earnestly seconded his suit, but Mary, wisely and kindly, would not put a constraint upon her sister's inclinations. The wary Princess saw that the crown would probably be hers at no distant day; and she would not risk the loss of the people's affection by marrying a foreign Catholic. She had sensible advisers about her, who seconded her own

A mixed host.

prudence; and thus she kept safe amid the manifold dangers by which she was surrounded. The Duke of Savoy, though young, was an experienced soldier, and he determined to commence the campaign by investing St. Quentin, a frontier town of Picardy. The defence of this fortress was undertaken by Coligni, the Admiral of France, afterward so famous for his mournful death. Montmorency, the Constable, had the command of the French army. The garrison was almost reduced to extremity—when Montmorency, on the 10th of August, arrived with his whole force, and halted on the bank of the Somme. On the opposite bank lay the Spanish, the English, the Flemish, and the German host. The arrival of the French was a surprise, and the Duke of Savoy had to take up a new position. He determined on battle. The issue was the most unfortunate for France since the fatal day of Agincourt. The French slain amounted, according to some accounts, to six thousand, and the prisoners were equally numerous. Among them was the veteran Montmorency. On the 10th of August, Philip came to the camp. Bold advisers counselled a march to Paris. The cautious King was satisfied to press on the siege of St. Quentin. The defence which Coligni made was such as might have been expected from his firmness and bravery. The place was taken by storm, amid horrors which belong to [illegible]nes at

St. Quentin invested.

Great loss of the French.

all times, but which were doubled by the rapacity of troops who fought even with each other for the greatest share of the pillage. After a few trifling successes, the army of Philip was broken up. The English and Germans were indignant at the insolence of the Spaniards; and the Germans were more indignant that their pay was not forthcoming. Philip was glad to permit his English subjects to take their discontents home. They had found out that they were not fighting the battle of England.

Sack of the town.

The Duke of Guise, the uncle of the Queen of Scots, at the beginning of 1558, was at the head of a powerful army to avenge the misfortune of St. Quentin. The project committed to his execution was a bold and patriotic one—to drive the English from their last stronghold in France. Calais, over whose walls a foreign flag had been waving for two centuries, was to France an opprobrium, and to England a trophy. But it was considered by the English government as an indispensable key to the Continent—a possession that it would not only be a disgrace to lose, but a national calamity. The importance of Calais was thus described by Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, only one year before it finally passed from the English power:

Importance of Calais.

"Another frontier, besides that of Scotland, and of no less importance for the security of the kingdom, though it be separated, is that

which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses, Calais and Guisnes, guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy, especially Calais, for this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions, without which the English would have no outlet from their own, nor access to other countries, at least none so easy, so short, and so secure; so much so, that if they were deprived of it, they would not only be shut out from the Continent, but also from the commerce and intercourse of the world. They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary for the existence of a country, and become dependent upon the will and pleasure of other sovereigns, in availing themselves of their ports, besides having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage; whereas, by way of Calais, which is directly opposite to the harbor of Dover, distant only about thirty miles, they can, at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, at their pleasure, enter or leave the harbor (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors), and carry over either troops or anything else for warfare, offensive and defensive, without giving rise to jealousy and suspicion; and thus they are enabled, as Calais is not more than ten miles from Ardres, the frontier of the French, nor further from Gravelines, the frontier of the Imperialists, to join either the one or the other, as they please,

Advantages to England.

and to add their strength to him with whom they are at amity, in prejudice of an enemy. For these reasons, therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that, besides the inhabitants of the place, who are esteemed men of most unshaken fidelity, being the descendants of an English colony settled there shortly after the first conquest, it should also be guarded by one of the most trusty barons which the King has, bearing the title of deputy, with a force of five hundred of the best soldiers, besides a troop of fifty horsemen. It is considered by every one as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it may be surrounded, although there are persons skilled in the art of fortification who doubt that it would prove so if put to the test. For the same reason, Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable, situated about three miles more inland, on the French frontier, and guarded with the same degree of care, though, being a smaller place, only by a hundred and fifty men, under a chief governor. The same is done with regard to a third place, called Hammes, situated between the two former, and thought to be of equal importance, the waters which inundate the country being collected around."

It is considered impregnable.

Ninety years later Calais was regarded in a very different light: "Now it is gone, let it go. It was but a beggarly town, which cost England ten times yearly more than it was worth

in keeping thereof, as by the accounts in the Exchequer doth plainly appear."

The expedition against Calais was undertaken upon a report of the dilapidated condition of the works and the smallness of its garrison. It was not "an impregnable fortress," as Micheli says it was considered. The Duke of Guise commenced his attack on the 2d of January, when he stormed and took the castle of Ruysbank, which commanded the approach by water. On the 3d he carried the castle of Newenham bridge, which commanded the approach by land. He then commenced a cannonade of the citadel, which surrendered on the 6th. On the 7th the town capitulated. Lord Wentworth, the Governor, and fifty others, remained as prisoners. The English inhabitants, about four thousand, were ejected from the home which they had so long colonized, but without any exercise of cruelty. "The Frenchmen," say the chroniclers, "entered and possessed the town; and forthwith all the men, women, and children were commanded to leave their houses, and to go to certain places appointed for them to remain in, till order might be taken for their sending away. The places thus appointed for them to remain in were chiefly four, the two churches of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, the deputy's house, and the stable, where they rested a great part of that day, and one whole night, and the next day till 3 o'clock at afternoon,

Its real condition.

The capitulation.

without either meat or drink. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the Duke of Guise, in the name of the French King, in their hearing made a proclamation, charging all and every person that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels to the value of one groat, to bring the same forthwith, and lay it down upon the high altars of the said churches, upon pain of death; bearing them in hand also that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great and sorrowful offertory. And while they were at this offertory within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasures; but especially of ordnance, armor, and other munitions. Thus dealt the French with the English, in lieu and recompense of the like usage to the French when the forces of King Philip prevailed at St. Quentin; where, not content with the honor of victory, the English in sacking the town sought nothing more than the satisfying of their greedy vein of covetousness, with an extreme neglect of all moderation."

The great offertory.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

(A.D. 1560—1590)

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE

THE one essentially noble feature in the great families of Scotland was their patriotism. They loved Scotland and Scotland's freedom with a passion proportioned to the difficulty with which they had defended their liberties; and yet the wisest of them had long seen that, sooner or later, union with England was inevitable; and the question was, how that union was to be brought about—how they were to make sure that, when it came, they should take their place at England's side as equals, and not as a dependency. It had been arranged that the little Mary Stuart should marry our English Edward VI.: and the difficulty was to be settled so. They would have been contented, they said, if Scotland had had the "lad" and England the "lass." As it stood, they broke their bargain, and married the little queen away into France, to prevent the Protector Somerset from getting hold of her. Then, however, appeared an opposite danger; the Queen would become a Frenchwoman; her

Patriotism of the Scotch.

French mother would govern Scotland with French troops and French ministers; the country would become a French province and lose its freedom equally. Thus an English party began again; and as England was then in the middle of her great anti-Church revolution, so the Scottish nobles began to be anti-Church. It was not for doctrines: neither they nor their brothers in England cared much about doctrines; but in both countries the Church was rich—much richer than there seemed any occasion for it to be. Harry the Eighth had been sharing among the laity the spoils of the English monasteries; the Scotch lords saw in a similar process the probability of a welcome addition to their own scanty incomes. Mary of Guise and the French stood by the Church, and the Church stood by them; and so it came about that the great families —even those who, like the Hamiltons, were most closely connected with France—were tempted over by the bait to the other side. They did not want reformed doctrines, but they wanted the Church lands; and so they came to patronize, or endure, the Reformers, because the Church hated them, and because they weakened the Church; and thus for a time, and especially as long as Mary Stuart was Queen of France, all classes in Scotland, high and low, seemed to fraternize in favor of the revolution.

Why Scotland favored the revolution.

The great families want the Church lands.

And it seemed as if the union of the realms

could be effected at last, at the same juncture, and in connection with the same movement.

The succession.

Next in succession to the Scotch crown, after Mary Stuart, was the house of Hamilton. Elizabeth, who had just come to the English throne, was supposed to be in want of a husband. The heir of the Hamiltons was of her own age, and in years past had been thought of for her by her father. What could be more fit than to make a match between those two? Send a Scot south to be King of England, find or make some pretext to shake off Mary Stuart, who had forsaken her native country, and so join the crowns, the "lass" and the "lad" being now in the right relative position. Scotland would thus annex her own oppressor, and give her a new dynasty.

It was thus, and with these incongruous objects, that the combination was formed which overturned the old Church of Scotland in 1559-60, confiscated its possessions, destroyed its religious houses, and changed its creed. The French were driven away from Leith by Elizabeth's troops; the Reformers took possession of the churches; and the Parliament of 1560 met with a clear stage to determine for themselves the future fate of the country. Now, I think it certain that, if the Scotch nobility, having once accepted the Reformation, had continued loyal to it—especially if Elizabeth had met their wishes in the important point of the marriage—the form of the Scotch

Destruction of the Church.

Kirk would have been something extremely different from what it in fact became. The people were perfectly well inclined to follow their natural leaders if the matters on which their hearts were set had received tolerable consideration from them, and the democratic form of the ecclesiastical constitution would have been inevitably modified. One of the conditions of the proposed compact with England was the introduction of the English Liturgy and the English Church constitution. This too, at the outset, and with fair dealing, would not have been found impossible. But it soon became clear that the religious interests of Scotland were the very last thing which would receive consideration from any of the high political personages concerned. John Knox had dreamed of a constitution like that which he had been working upon under Calvin at Geneva—a constitution in which the clergy as ministers of God should rule all things; rule politically at the council board, and rule in private at the fireside. It was soon made plain to Knox that Scotland was not Geneva. "Eh, mon," said the young Maitland to him, "then we may all bear the barrow now to build the House of the Lord." Not exactly. The churches were left to the ministers; the worldly good things and worldly power remained with the laity; and as to religion, circumstances would decide what they would do about that. Again,

Scotland's religious interests.

John Knox's ambition.

I am not speaking of all the great men of those times. Glencairn, Ruthven, young Argyll—above all, the Earl of Moray—really did in some degree interest themselves in the Kirk. But what most of them felt was perhaps rather broadly expressed by Maitland when he called religion "a bogle of the nursery." That was the expression which a Scotch statesman of those days actually ventured to use. Had Elizabeth been conformable, no doubt they would in some sense or other have remained on the side of the Reformation. But here, too, there was a serious hitch. Elizabeth would not marry Arran. Elizabeth would be no party to any of their intrigues. She detested Knox. She detested Protestantism entirely, in all shapes in which Knox approved of it. She affronted the nobles on one side, she affronted the people on another; and all idea of uniting the two crowns after the fashion proposed by the Scotch Parliament she utterly and entirely repudiated. She was right enough, perhaps, so far as this was concerned; but she left the ruling families extremely perplexed as to the course which they would follow. They had allowed the country to be revolutionized in the teeth of their own sovereign, and what to do next they did not very well know.

Elizabeth's hatred of Protestanism.

It was at this crisis that circumstances came in to their help. Francis the Second died. Mary Stuart was left a childless widow. Her

connection with the crown of France was at an end, and all danger on that side to the liberties of Scotland at an end also. The Arran scheme having failed, she would be a second card as good as the first to play for the English crown; as good as he, or better, for she would have the English Catholics on her side. So, careless how it would affect religion, and making no condition at all about that, the same men who a year before were ready to whistle Mary Stuart down the wind, now invited her back to Scotland; the same men who had been the loudest friends of Elizabeth now encouraged Mary Stuart to persist in the pretension to the crown of England, which had led to all the past trouble. While in France, she had assumed the title of Queen of England. She had promised to abandon it, but, finding her own people ready to support her in withdrawing her promise, she stood out, insisting that, at all events, the English Parliament should declare her next in the succession; and it was well known that, as soon as the succession was made sure in her favor, some rascal would be found to put a knife or a bullet into Elizabeth. The object of the Scotch nobles was political, national, patriotic. For religion it was no great matter either way; and as they had before acted with the Protestants, so now they were ready to turn about, and openly or tacitly act with the Catholics. Mary Stuart's friends in England

Mary Stuart returns to Scotland.

Her claims.

and on the Continent were Catholics, and therefore it would not do to offend them. First, she was allowed to have mass at Holyrood; then there was a move for broader toleration. That one mass, Knox said, was more terrible to him than ten thousand armed men landed in the country, and he had perfectly good reason for saying so. He thoroughly understood that it was the first step toward a counter-revolution, which in time would cover all Scotland and England, and carry them back to Popery. Yet he preached to deaf ears. Even Murray was so bewitched with the notion of the English succession, that for a year and a half he ceased to speak to Knox; and as it was with Murray, so it was far more with all the rest, their zeal for religion was gone no one knew where. Of course, Elizabeth would not give way. She might as well, she said, herself prepare her shroud; and then conspiracies came, and underground intrigues with the Romanist English noblemen. France and Spain were to invade England; Scotland was to open its ports to their fleets, and its soil to their armies, giving them a safe base from which to act, and a dry road over the Marches to London. And if Scotland had remained unchanged from what it had been—had the direction of its fortunes remained with the Prince and with the nobles—sooner or later it would have come to this. But suddenly it appeared that there was a new power in this

Mass at Holyrood.

England's danger.

country which no one suspected till it was felt.

The commons of Scotland had hitherto been the creatures of the nobles. They had neither will nor opinion of their own. They thought and acted in the spirit of their immediate allegiance. No one seems to have dreamed that there would be any difficulty in dealing with them if once the great families agreed upon a common course. Yet it appeared, when the pressure came, that religion, which was the plaything of the nobles, was to the people a clear matter of life and death. They might love their country; they might be proud of anything which might add lustre to its crown; but if it was to bring back the Pope and Popery—if it threatened to bring them back—if it looked that way, they would have nothing to do with it; nor would they allow it to be done. Allegiance was well enough; but there was a higher allegiance suddenly discovered which superseded all earthly considerations. I need not follow the wild story of the crimes and catastrophes in which Mary Stuart's short reign in Scotland closed. Neither is her own share, be it great or small, or none at all, in those crimes, of any moment to us here. It is enough that, both before that strange business and after it, when at Holyrood or across the Border, in Sheffield or Tutbury, her ever favorite dream was still the English throne. Her road toward it was through a Catholic

The commons of Scotland aroused.

Mary's favorite dream.

revolution and the murder of Elizabeth. It is enough that, both before and after, the aristocracy of Scotland, even those among them who had seemed most zealous for the Reformation, were eager to support her. John Knox alone, and the commons, whom Knox had raised into a political power, remained true.

Much, indeed, is to be said for the Scotch nobles. In the first shock of the business at Kirk-o'-Field, they forgot their politics in a sense of national disgrace. They sent the Queen to Loch Leven. They intended to bring her to trial, and, if she was proved guilty, to expose and, perhaps, punish her. All parties for a time agreed to this, even the Hamiltons themselves; and had they been left alone they would have done it. But they had a perverse neighbor in England, to whom crowned heads were sacred. Elizabeth, it might have been thought, would have had no particular objection; but Elizabeth had aims of her own which baffled calculation. Elizabeth, the representative of revolution, yet detested revolutionists. The Reformers in Scotland, the Huguenots in France, the insurgents in the United Provinces, were the only friends she had in Europe. For her own safety she was obliged to encourage them; yet she hated them all, and would at any moment have abandoned them all, if in any she could have secured herself. She might have conquered

Mary sent to Loch Leven.

her personal objection to Knox; she could not conquer her aversion to a Church which rose out of revolt against authority, which was democratic in constitution and republican in politics. When driven into alliance with the Scotch Protestants, she angrily and passionately disclaimed any community of creed with them; and for subjects to sit in judgment on their prince was a precedent which she would not tolerate. Thus she flung her mantle over Mary Stuart. She told the Scotch Council here in Edinburgh that, if they hurt a hair of her head, she would harry their country, and hang them all on the trees round the town, if she could find any trees there for that purpose. She tempted the Queen to England, with her fair promises, after the battle of Langside, and then, to her astonishment, imprisoned her. Yet she still shielded her reputation, still fostered her party in Scotland, still incessantly threatened and incessantly endeavored to restore her. She kept her safe, because, in her lucid intervals, her ministers showed her the madness of acting otherwise. Yet for three years she kept her own people in a fever of apprehension. She made a settled government in Scotland impossible; till, distracted and perplexed, the Scottish statesmen went back to their first schemes. They assured themselves that in one way or other the Queen of Scots would sooner or later come again among them. They, and others besides them,

Elizabeth protects her enemy.

Settled government impossible.

believed that Elizabeth was cutting her own throat, and that the best they could do was to recover their own Queen's favor, and make the most of her and her titles; and so they lent themselves again to the English Catholic conspiracies.

Assassination of Moray.

The Earl of Moray—the one supremely noble man then living in the country—was put out of the way by an assassin. French and Spanish money poured in, and French and Spanish armies were to be again invited over to Scotland. This is the form in which the drama unfolds itself in the correspondence of the time. Maitland, the soul and spirit of it all, said, in scorn, that "he would make the Queen of England sit upon her tail and whine like a whipped dog." The only powerful noblemen who remained on the Protestant side were Lennox, Morton, and Mar. Lord Lennox was a poor creature, and was soon despatched; Mar was old and weak; and Morton was an unprincipled scoundrel, who used the Reformation only as a stalking horse to cover the spoils which he had clutched in the confusion, and was ready to desert the cause at any moment if the balance of advantage shifted. Even the ministers of the Kirk were fooled and flattered over. Maitland told Mary Stuart that he had gained them all except one.

The Scotch lords.

John Knox alone defied both his threats and his persuasions. Good reason has Scot-

land to be proud of Knox. He only, in this wild crisis, saved the Kirk which he had founded, and saved with it Scottish and English freedom. But for Knox, and what he was able still to do, it is almost certain that the Duke of Alva's army would have been landed on the eastern coast. The conditions were drawn out and agreed upon for the reception, the support, and the stay of the Spanish troops. Two-thirds of the English peerage had bound themselves to rise against Elizabeth; and Alva waited only till Scotland itself was quiet. Only that quiet would not be. Instead of quiet came three dreadful years of civil war. Scotland was split into factions, to which the mother and the son gave names. The Queen's lords, as they were called, with unlimited money from France and Flanders, held Edinburgh and Glasgow; all the border line was theirs, and all the north and west. Elizabeth's Council, wiser than their mistress, barely squeezed out of her reluctant parsimony enough to keep Mar and Morton from making terms with the rest; but there her assistance ended. She would still say nothing, promise nothing, bind herself to nothing, and, so far as she was concerned, the war would have been soon enough brought to a close. But away at St. Andrews, John Knox, broken in body, and scarcely able to stagger up the pulpit stairs, still thundered in the parish church; and his voice, it was said, was like

John Knox saves the Kirk.

Elizabeth's parsimony.

The Lowlands rise.

ten thousand trumpets braying in the ear of Scottish Protestantism. All the Lowlands answered to his call. Our English Cromwell found in the man of religion a match for the man of honor. Before Cromwell, all over the Lothians, and across from St. Andrews to Stirling and Glasgow—through farm, and town, and village—the words of Knox had struck the inmost chords of the Scottish commons' hearts. Passing over knight and noble, he had touched the farmer, the peasant, the petty tradesman, and the artisan, and turned the men of clay into men of steel. The village preacher, when he left his pulpit, doffed cap and cassock, and donned morion and steel-coat. The Lothian yeoman's household became for the nonce a band of troopers, who would cross swords with the night riders of Buccleuch. It was a terrible time, a time rather of anarchy than of defined war, for it was without form or shape. Yet the horror of it was everywhere. Houses and villages were burned, and women and children tossed on pike-point into the flames. Strings of poor men were dangled day after day from the walls of Edinburgh Castle. A word any way from Elizabeth would have ended it, but that word Elizabeth would never speak; and, maddened with suffering, the people half believed that she was feeding the fire for her own bad purposes, when it was only that she would not make up her mind to allow a crowned

Bloodshed and anarchy.

princess to be dethroned. No earthly influence could have held men true in such a trial. The noble lords—the Earl of Morton and such like—would have made their own conditions, and gone with the rest; but the vital force of the Scotch nation, showing itself where it was least looked for, would not have it so.

Mary's flag still floats.

All this while civil war was raging, and the flag of Queen Mary was still floating over Edinburgh Castle. It surprised the English; still more it surprised the politicians. It was the one thing which disconcerted, baffled, and finally ruined the schemes and the dreams of Maitland. When he had gained the aristocracy, he thought that he had gained everybody, and, as it turned out, he had all his work still to do. The Spaniards did not come. The prudent Alva would not risk invasion till Scotland at least was assured. As time passed on, the English conspiracies were discovered and broken up. The Duke of Norfolk lost his head; the Queen of Scots was found to have been mixed up with the plots to murder Elizabeth; and Elizabeth at last took courage and recognized James. Supplies of money ceased to come from abroad, and gradually the tide turned. The Protestant cause once more grew toward the ascendant. The great families, one by one, came round again; and, as the backward movement began, the massacre of St. Bartholomew gave it a fresh and tremen-

Elizabeth recognizes James.

dous impulse. Even the avowed Catholics—the Hamiltons, the Gordons, the Scotts, the Kers, the Maxwells,—quailed before the wail of rage and sorrow which at that great horror rose over their country. The Queen's party dwindled away to a handful of desperate politicians, who still clung to Edinburgh Castle. But Elizabeth's "peacemakers," as the big English cannon were called, came round, at the Regent's request, from Berwick; David's Tower, as Knox had long ago foretold, "ran down over the cliff like a sandy brae"; and the cause of Mary Stuart in Scotland was extinguished forever. Poor Grange, who deserved a better end, was hanged at the Market Cross. Secretary Maitland, the cause of all the mischief,—the cleverest man, as far as intellect went, in all Britain,—died (so later rumor said) by his own hand.

Mary's cause is extinguished.

With the fall of the Castle, then, but not till then, it became clear to all men that the Reformation would hold its ground. It was the final trampling out of the fire which for five years had threatened both England and Scotland with flames and ruin. For five years—as late certainly as the massacre of St. Bartholomew—those who understood best the true state of things, felt the keenest misgivings how the event would turn. That things ended as they did was due to the spirit of the Scotch commons. There was a moment when, if they had given way, all would have gone, perhaps

The Reformation triumphs.

even to Elizabeth's throne. They had passed for nothing; they had proved to be everything; had proved—the ultimate test in human things—to be the power which could hit the hardest blows, and they took rank accordingly. The creed began now in good earnest to make its way into hall and castle; but it kept the form which it assumed in the first hours of its danger and trial, and never after lost it. Had the aristocracy dealt sincerely with things in the earlier stages of the business, again I say the democratic element in the Kirk might have been softened or modified. But the Protestants had been trifled with by their own natural leaders. Used and abused by Elizabeth, despised by the worldly intelligence and power of the times, they triumphed after all, and, as a natural consequence, they set their own mark and stamp upon the fruits of the victory.

The creed makes its way.

MALTA AND LEPANTO

(A.D. 1565—1573)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

THE Othman Empire had, under Solyman the Magnificent, attained its greatest extent, nearly identical with that of the ancient Eastern Empire, and in union with the Moors of Africa his power had become so formidable that the Mediterranean was a region of great danger to all Christian vessels.

Solyman's power.

The Knights of St. John, in the rocky island of Malta, were the most steady and formidable opponents of his vessels; and, repenting of having spared the Order when he had driven it from Rhodes, he now resolved to overwhelm it completely, and effect its destruction.

He therefore fitted out a fleet of one hundred and fifty-nine vessels, containing thirty thousand Janissaries and Spahis, and followed by hosts of transports for artillery and stores, all under the command of his two bravest Pachas, Mustafa and Piali, in conjunction with Dragut, a noted Moorish Corsair. The

Expedition against Malta.

Grand Master who had to meet this storm, was Jean Parisot de la Valette, a true Hospitalier, excelling equally as priest, knight, and sick nurse, and, though seventy years of age, in full vigor of mind and body. He called in his knights from the different commanderies, and found them to amount to seven hundred, with eight thousand and five hundred other troops, and to these he made a beautiful address, exhorting them to give their lives in defence of the Gospel against the Koran, as a sacrifice to him to whom they were already pledged, and calling them to come to the Altar, there to receive the Body and Blood of him who could render them invincible by their contempt of death.

The Grand Master prepares to meet the Infidels.

Daily, while waiting for the enemy, and preparing the defences, each knight was a communicant, and thus both outwardly and inwardly did the Order arm against the foe. The port of Malta consisted of two principal harbors, separated by a tongue of land, where stood a castle named Fort St. Elmo. This was considered as the key of the position; it was garrisoned by three hundred knights under the bailiff of Negropont, who promised to do their utmost to hold out till aid should come from the Spanish fleet, which was preparing in the Sicilian harbors. If St. Elmo should fall, the Duke of Alva, Viceroy of Sicily, declared that no succor could be expected, he should deem the Order past his power of

Devotion of the Order.

assistance, and would not sacrifice his master's troops.

Fort St. Elmo attacked.

On the 24th of May, 1565, the mighty Turkish armament commenced the attack of the little fort, when the huge stone cannon-balls effected such fearful damage, that the bailiff sent the Chevalier de la Cerda to the Borgo, or main city, to request further succor. La Cerda even declared that it was impossible to hold out a week, the fort was an exhausted patient, only to be supported by constant cordials.

"I will be physician," said La Valette. "I will bring those with me who, if they can not cure you of your fright, will at least, by their valor, save the castle from the Infidels."

He would have shut himself up in the fort, but was opposed by the whole Chapter, and, indeed, La Cerda had done injustice to the rest of the garrison; no one there was faint-hearted save himself, and while he, on the excuse of a slight hurt, was carried back to the Borgo, others, after mortal wounds, would not be assisted from the walls, but crawled alone to the chapel to die before the Altar. The bailiff, and other aged men, severely wounded, and scorched and disfigured by the sun, toiled constantly to bring earth to fill up the crumbling ramparts, and, after spending whole days in the deadly conflict, passed the night in prayer and in binding up each other's wounds. La Valette sent them all the aid in his power, and wistful eyes were strained over the sea

La Cerda's cowardice.

for the tardy fleets of Spain, but they came not, and the Turkish cannon daily did more fearful damage. On the night of the 23d of June, the devoted band knew their time was come. They celebrated the Holy Eucharist for the last time in their chapel, and, after embracing each other, they returned at dawn to the walls, those who were unable to stand being carried in chairs, that at least they might die in the defence. Here they were all slain, and the Turks had won the fort, but only by a loss of eight thousand men, and of Dragut himself. "Since the son has cost us so much, what may we not look for from the father!" exclaimed Mustafa Pacha.

Though St. Elmo was lost, and with it the promise of aid, the knights did not lose courage, and when summoned to surrender, answered the Turks by pointing to the ditch, and saying, "That is the only place we intend for you." Daily was the battle renewed, and fearful was the slaughter within and without. La Cerda expiated his weakness by a gallant death; a son of Alva, and a nephew of La Valette, both fell, and the Grand Master refused all special condolence for Henri de la Valette, saying that all alike were his brethren and children.

Loss of St. Elmo.

Death of La Cerda.

Months went by, and at last Philip II., whose cold-hearted design it seems to have been to let the Turks exhaust themselves against Malta, thought the extremity suffi-

Philip sends tardy aid.

cient, and permitted Alva to send a fleet to disembark six thousand men, and then at once return. These arrived on the 7th of September, and landed while the Turks were assaulting the town. The tidings of their coming spread such a panic among the enemy, that Mustafa drew his men out of St. Elmo, and re-embarked, abandoning his artillery. Learning the real numbers, he was ashamed, and landed his weary troops much against their will, and only to find that in this interval his lines had been destroyed, and St. Elmo again occupied by the gallant Maltese. He gave battle to the reinforcement, suffered a total defeat, and the next day weighed anchor, and sailed for Constantinople, leaving behind the corpses of twenty-five thousand of the best soldiers and mariners of Turkey.

Mustafa retires.

The reinforcement entered the Borgo in triumph, but found it a sad spectacle, looking as if it had really been taken by assault, with huge gaps in the walls, shattered houses, empty magazines, the Grand Master and knights pale and haggard, their garments stained, their armor broken, their hair and beard untrimmed, as men who had not undressed for many weeks, and few unwounded of the small remnant of the gallant band who had vowed to sacrifice all for the defence of their island.

La Valette's honors.

Every honor was paid to La Valette; the Pope offered him a cardinal's hat, and Philip

II. sent him a sword and dagger with a hilt of precious stones, a poor requital for the glorious blood which Spain had allowed to be shed like water. These trophies were, however, together with the Great Standard of St. John, borne in solemn procession to the Cathedral, on the holiday of thanksgiving yearly held on the 8th of September. The Borgo was thenceforth called Vittoriosa, but La Valette, perceiving that the peninsula of Mount Sceberras afforded better means of defence, founded a new city there, called by his name, Valetta, which has since been the capital of Malta. He died in 1568, from a *coup de soleil,* while superintending the works. His death.

Philip was not safe from the Mahometan forces, even in his own domains. Many of the Moors of Granada, to whom Fernando and Isabel had only given the choice of Christianity or banishment, had, indeed, been baptized, but retained their Moslem faith and habits. Of these Moriscos, as they were called, the Inquisition took cognizance, and this persecution excited a terrible revolt in the mountains of the Alpuxarras. The Moriscos shook off the name of Christians, and electing as their king a youth of the old royal line, who took the Moorish name of Aben Humeya, they made forays on the Christian villages, retaliating by their cruelties what they had themselves suffered. Their kinsmen, the African Moors, came to their aid, and they The Moriscos.

sent to ask succor from Constantinople. Had it been granted, the Koran might again have been dominant in Spain, but the able Sultan, Solyman, had died in 1566, and his son, Selim III., called Most, or the drunkard, neglected their appeal. Philip sent an army against them, under the nominal command of Don Juan of Austria. This youth was the son of Charles V. by a German lady, and had been brought up by a knightly old hidalgo, Don Luis de Quixada, without revealing the secret of his birth even to his wife, Dona Magdalena, who loved the boy as her own son. On his deathbed Charles recommended him to Philip, who acknowledged him as his brother, and placed him at the head of the army, though, as he was only twenty-two, he was under the control of an experienced officer, Don Luis de Resquesnes. The Moriscos could not make head against regular troops, and were obliged to lay down their arms, after the loss of several skirmishes, in one of which Quixada was mortally wounded. He died, attended like a father by Don Juan, who ever regarded Dona Magdalena as a mother. The unfortunate Moriscos were treated with horrible cruelty, as apostates, and though some escaped to Africa, and others led a wild life of robbery in the mountain fastnesses, in a few generations the whole remnant was lost.

Don Juan.

The Moriscos are beaten.

The cause of the neglect of their petition to the Sultan was his eagerness to win Cyprus

from the Venetians, an enterprise said to have been inspired by a renegade Portuguese Jew, who used to carouse with him, and who incited him to gain his favorite Cyprus wine for the pressing, instead of the buying, till he swore by the Prophet to conquer the beautiful isle, and make the Jew king of it.

Selim wants Cyprus.

The arsenal of Venice had been destroyed by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, and it was impossible to send effectual succors to Bragadino, the Governor of Cyprus. A mighty fleet sailed under Mustafa Pacha against Famagosta, landing such hosts that the white turbans covered the fields like a fall of snow, and, though the garrison held out nobly for four months, they were forced to surrender in August, 1571, after having slain fifty thousand Turks. The unfortunate Bragadino was treated with savage barbarity, forced for ten days to carry baskets of earth to repair the ramparts he had defended, and finally flayed alive. His skin was stuffed and carried to Constantinople on the bowsprit of Mustafa's galley, but was afterward ransomed, and placed in an urn in the Church of San Giovanni, at Venice.

Gallantry of the garrison.

The Doge, Luigi Mocenigo, now entered into a league with the Pope and the King of Spain for the defence of Christendom, and a fleet was fitted out at their joint expense, consisting of two hundred and fourteen vessels, which were placed under the command of

Alliance of Venice, Rome, and Spain.

Don Juan of Austria, and sailed to meet the Turkish fleet in their own waters.

On October 7th, 1571, they came in sight of two hundred and seventy-five Turkish sail under Ali Pacha, in front of the Gulf of Lepanto, near the scene of the battle of Actium. A council of war was held, and hesitated to risk a combat, but Don Juan silenced doubt. "Activity, not advice, is wanting," he said, and he went from ship to ship, exhorting the crews like a Christian Knight, and giving liberty to the convicts chained to the oar, as he bade them fight for Christ, to whom their freedom was owing. The crusading spirit flew through the fleet, the captains displayed the crucifix, and laying aside national jealousies and private discords, the whole fleet seemed to be impelled by one soul.

Battle of Lepanto.

The two fleets were each in three divisions. The Turkish right, under the Governor of Alexandria, was utterly destroyed, scarcely a man escaping; and in the centre Don Juan four times boarded the flagship, and at last captured it, and set up the head of Ali Pacha on the mast. Ulucci Ali, a renegade in command of the Algerine squadron, made a better resistance, captured a Maltese vessel, and burned a Venetian ship, and finally effected his retreat with twenty or thirty vessels, the sole remains of the splendid Othman fleet.

The Turkish right destroyed.

Ali's magnificent galley was given to Don Juan, who presented to the Greek who had

slain the Pacha, the gilt staff of the Turkish standard, of massive silver, covered with inscriptions. It was purchased as a trophy by the Venetians.

Great were the general rejoicings. The Venetians struck medals in honor of St. Justina, on whose day the battle had been fought, and appointed a national holiday for her festival. The Pope, in his delight, applied to Don Juan the Gospel words, "There was a man sent from God whose name was John," and proposed to pursue the victory, and to found a Christian realm at Tunis, with him for its King. Philip was, however, jealous of his brother, and when the fleet again assembled, sent only twenty-two ships instead of the one hundred he had promised. Nothing decisive could be attempted, and peace was concluded in 1573, leaving Cyprus in possession of the Turks.

General rejoicings.

RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

(A.D. 1568—1648)

RICHARD LODGE

IN Philip's Italian provinces, Milan, Naples, and Sicily, his system of government was introduced with complete success, but in the Netherlands it provoked a storm of opposition which wrecked the power of Spain.

The Netherlands. The Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces, each possessed of independent institutions and inhabited by populations of differing character. They had become united by falling under the rule of the Dukes of Burgundy, from whom they had passed to the Hapsburgs. But the union under a common government had done little or nothing to put an end to provincial differences. Under Charles V., himself a Netherlander by birth, some advance had been made toward the formation of a central government. A supreme court of justice had been founded at Mechlin, and deputies from the various provinces were

The States-General. summoned to form the States-General. But Charles had been too cautious to make any determined attack upon local privileges, and the

Netherlands remained a loose federation. In one point only had he shown uncompromising purpose, in his opposition to religious reform. An edict of 1550 threatened heretics with the severest penalties, and a board of inquisitors, or as they were euphemistically called, "ecclesiastical judges," was formed to enforce them. But in spite of this severity the Netherlands were quite submissive when they were transferred to Philip II. in 1555.

Hatred of Philip.

The new ruler soon made himself as hated as his predecessor had been loved. His first act was to renew the edict of 1550. When he departed for Spain, in 1559, he showed his contempt for the feelings and prejudices of his subjects in the appointment of a governor. Passing over the claims of the native nobles, he gave the post to his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, the pupil of Ignatius Loyola and the devoted instrument of Philip's reactionary policy. Her chief minister was Cardinal Granvella, a Burgundian whose father had been an influential adviser of Charles V. With him were united Barlaymont, a noble, and Viglius, a lawyer. These three formed the Consulta, or secret council, and their influence rendered powerless the recognized Council of State, in which the great nobles had seats.

Margaret of Parma.

The establishment of this anti-national government provoked widespread discontent, which found immediate vent in complaints

against the continued presence of Spanish troops after the King's departure. So threatening was the opposition, that Philip, much against his will, was compelled to withdraw the troops. But no sooner was this concession made than a new ground of complaint was furnished by proposed ecclesiastical changes. At this time there were only four bishoprics in the Netherlands, Arras, Cambray, Tournay, and Utrecht. Philip obtained a bull from Pius IV. in 1560, creating fourteen new bishoprics, with three archbishoprics at Mechlin, Cambray, and Utrecht. This extension of the hierarchy was felt to be a general grievance. The secular estates dreaded the great development of the Spanish and ecclesiastical power, while even the clergy were discontented by the proposal to confiscate church property for the endowment of the new sees. The doctrines of Luther and Calvin had already made considerable progress in spite of the edicts. They now became a political power.

Spanish troops withdrawn.

The lead of the opposition was taken by the great nobles, who felt themselves excluded from their due share of the government. At their head were three men, William of Orange, Count Egmont, and Admiral Horn. Egmont was a soldier who had won great distinction in the battles of St. Quentin and Gravelines. His bravery and his loyalty were equally conspicuous, but his devotion to the

Count Egmont.

interests of the country and the feeling that his great services were unrequited combined to place him unwillingly in opposition to the crown. He was a sincere Catholic and had no sympathy with the reformed doctrine. William of Orange was a man of very different stamp and of far greater importance. He was the descendant of the German house of Nassau, which had acquired large possessions in the Netherlands. His grandfather, Engelbert II., had divided his territories between his two sons, Henry and William. Henry, the elder, who received the lands in the Netherlands, brought the principality of Orange into the family by his marriage with the sister of that Prince of Orange who commanded at the siege of Rome in 1527. On the death of his son, Réné, in 1544, both Orange and the territories in the Netherlands fell to the younger branch of Nassau, which was now represented by William, the grandson of Engelbert. The Prince who thus obtained so magnificent an inheritance was at the time only eleven years old, having been born at Dillenburg in 1533. He was now taken into the service of Charles V., became a page in the imperial household, and there gave up the reformed faith in which he had been brought up. He became a favorite with Charles, who employed him on important embassies. He was still quite a young man, and little was known of his character when the accession of

The principality of Orange.

Philip II. called him to play an important part in the history of Europe.

The opposition directed itself, in the first place, against Granvella, who was designed to be Archbishop of Mechlin and Primate of the Netherlands. The nobles formed a league among themselves, and refused to take any share in the conduct of business until the minister was removed. At last even the Regent herself, who had no love for the man whose advice was often preferred to her own, joined in the demand for Granvella's removal. In 1564, Philip felt himself reluctantly compelled to accede. The Cardinal was requested to withdraw of his own accord for the sake of peace. But his conduct had earned rather than forfeited the esteem of his master. After a brief residence on his estates at Besançon, he was summoned to Madrid, where he remained an influential crown-adviser till his death in 1586.

League of the nobles.

The nobles soon found that they had no reason to regard Granvella's recall as a triumph. Philip was determined to make no change in his system of government; the enforced concession only increased his obstinacy. He ordered the decrees of the Council of Trent to be promulgated in the Netherlands, and enjoined on the Regent a strict enforcement of the edicts against heresy. His commands were obeyed, but the persecution only strengthened the movement it was intended to suppress.

Philip's obstinacy.

The nobles despatched Egmont to Madrid in 1565, to represent to the King the evils of the policy which he was pursuing. Philip befooled the loyal but vain Count by the pomp of his reception, and promised increased moderation. Egmont returned with the conviction that his mission had been altogether successful. But Philip was unmoved; new and more severe edicts were issued: the relentless severity of the persecution was increased. Thousands of skilled Flemish workmen were driven to take refuge in England, where the politic Elizabeth received them with open arms.

In the midst of the general excitement, a league was formed against the Inquisition, called the Compromise. Its founders were St. Aldegonde, Brederode, and Lewis of Nassau, William's brother. It was joined by 500 of the lesser nobles, and also by a number of burghers. It derived additional importance from the fact that many of the members were Catholics. The greater nobles, not yet prepared for extreme measures, held aloof. A petition to the Regent was prepared and presented by Brederode at the head of 300 followers. Barlaymont contemptuously told Margaret not to be afraid of those beggars. The nickname was gleefully adopted, and the most determined of Philip's opponents were henceforth known as the "Beggars."

"The Compromise."

"The Beggars."

While the Regent was making vain efforts

to satisfy complaints, and at the same time to obey her brother, the movement of opposition spread from the nobles to the lower classes. Everywhere the Calvinist preachers collected crowds of armed and enthusiastic hearers. Riots broke out, and the images and ornaments in the churches were destroyed by the iconoclastic fury of the mob. In the face of this general rebellion the edicts could not be carried out. The Regent wished to escape from Brussels, but was prevented by Egmont and Orange, who promised to support her authority if she would consent to abolish the Inquisition. She was unable to refuse, and they at once set to work to restore order.

Alva sent to the Netherlands.

But meanwhile the news of the disorders had infuriated Philip II. He refused to recognize the concessions which his sister had made. He ordered the renewal of the old edicts, and determined to send Alva to the Netherlands to carry them out by force of arms. William of Orange, who had endeavored to conciliate Spain by the suppression of tumult, was so depressed at the news of this determination that he retired to his German territories. Alva was merely a brutal soldier with no conception of the duties or methods of civil government. He found the provinces at peace, and by conciliatory measures might have secured them to Spain. But severity had been enjoined by his master, and was also congenial to his own nature. His violence

excited the bitterest hatred of Spanish rule and gave rise to a revolt which developed into a struggle for life and death. Margaret of Parma, who found her measures reversed and her authority superseded, soon quitted the Netherlands.

Arrest of Egmont and Horn.

Alva's first act was to arrest Egmont and Horn, though they had lately given conspicuous support to the government. His great regret was that the Prince of Orange had escaped his clutches. He erected an extraordinary court of justice, the "Council of Disorders," which the people called the "Council of Blood."

The Council of Blood.

The persecution which now commenced resembled a massacre rather than a judicial proceeding. The Protestant powers of Europe were profoundly moved. Philip II. received a strong remonstrance from his cousin, Maximilian II., but disregarded it. In the Netherlands the feeling of dismay was even stronger for a time than the instinctive desire for resistance. But William of Orange, who heard of these events in his castle of Dillenburg, was convinced that now or never was the time for him to move. He formally announced his adhesion to Calvinism. An army was collected composed of German mercenaries, French Huguenots, and exiles from the Netherlands. One division of this force, under the command of Lewis of Nassau, defeated a detachment of Spaniards at Heiligerlee

William of Orange becomes a Calvinist.

(24th of May, 1568). The great revolt of the Netherlands had begun.

Execution of Egmont and Horn.

The news of the defeat decided Alva to conduct the war in person. Before leaving Brussels, he had Egmont and Horn tried and executed, an event which sent a thrill of horror through Europe. He then marched to meet Lewis of Nassau, and defeated him at the battle of Jemmingen. It was in vain that William of Orange advanced in person into Brabant to retrieve this loss. Alva refused to meet him in battle, and want of money and provisions compelled the Prince to retreat. With his brother and the remnant of his forces, William took part in the Huguenot campaign of 1569 in France. Alva boasted that the revolt was crushed. A perfect reign of terror ensued in the Netherlands, which were treated as a conquered country. Not only were the previous cruelties revived with still more reckless severity; Alva also developed a new system of taxation, which was to bring vast revenues to the Spanish crown. His ignorance of public economy was equal to his ferocity, and produced results quite as disastrous. He proposed in March, 1569, to impose a tax of a hundredth penny, or one per cent on all property. All sales of real property were taxed at five per cent, and of movables at ten. A commercial community, like that of the Netherlands, was threatened with complete ruin by such impositions.

A reign of terror.

Failure of financial measures.

Even Alva's obstinacy was unable to carry his proposals against the opposition of the most devoted adherents to Spain. One commodity after another was excepted from the taxes, which brought in little or nothing. Alva's financial measures proved a failure, and they convinced even Philip II. of his representative's incompetence. The brief period of Spanish despotism brought ruin to the industry of the Netherlands. Manufactures and commerce began to pass over to England. The place of Bruges and Antwerp was taken by London.

Alva's recall had been decided upon, but he continued to hold office till the appointment of a successor. But he remained only to witness the fall of the edifice which he had reared on a foundation of violence and bloodshed. In 1572, the "sea beggars," exiles who had found refuge on the English coast and a means of a subsistence in piracy, attacked and captured the town of Brill. This was followed by a general revolt of the northern provinces. Lewis of Nassau, by a bold movement, made himself master of the fortress of Mons (Bergen) in Hainault, in the heart of the Spanish power. From this time all the efforts of Spain could never restore complete subjection. On July 18, 1572, the States of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht acknowledged the authority of William of Orange as stadtholder. Everything seemed

Alva is recalled.

Revolt of the northern provinces.

to favor the cause of liberty: assistance was confidently expected from France, then under the influence of Coligny. But the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the change of French policy put an end to this hope, and restored the superiority of the Spanish arms. Mons was forced to surrender, and Alva's son, Frederick, undertook the conquest of the northern provinces. Zutphen, Naarden and Haarlem were besieged and taken; but at last the heroism of the inhabitants of Alkmaar forced the Spaniards to retreat. But meanwhile Alva, conscious of failure and weary of a war in which success could bring no honor, had himself petitioned for a recall. In December, 1573, he left the Netherlands, where his name was long remembered with dismay and horror.

Spanish successes.

Alva's successor, Don Luis de Requesens, was an able soldier, and was personally inclined to moderate measures. But he was tied down by his instructions from Philip, who was determined not to give way. The three demands of William of Orange—the withdrawal of Spanish troops, restoration of the old constitution, and religious freedom—were rejected, and the war went on. Lewis of Nassau, with his brother Henry, were defeated and slain at the battle of Mooker Heath (April, 1574). But this disaster was redeemed by the relief of Leyden. Besieged by the Spaniards for seven months and reduced to the direst necessities, the inhabitants still

Alva's successor.

The relief of Leyden.

held out till the advance of Orange compelled the raising of the siege (October, 1574). The University of Leyden was founded, on William's suggestion, to commemorate this heroic incident in the history of the town. The next year was occupied with futile negotiations at Breda and military movements of slight importance. But the sudden death of Requesens, in March, 1576, brought with it important changes.

Death of Requesens.

During the interval that elapsed before the appointment of a new governor, the conduct of affairs devolved on the council of state in Brussels. The Spanish troops, whose pay was in hopeless arrears, had for some time been on the verge of mutiny. They now openly refused obedience to a civil government, and seized and plundered a number of the most wealthy cities. The sack of Antwerp, which lasted three days, during which the inhabitants were treated with the greatest barbarity, received the name of the Spanish Fury. These events enabled William of Orange to realize his great desire of combining the southern with the northern provinces in a common cause. The conduct of the soldiery brought into prominence the political interests which united the provinces, and obscured for a time their religious differences. The Pacification of Ghent was signed in November, 1576. By this all the provinces, while recognizing the authority of Philip, agreed to expel the for-

The "Spanish Fury."

eign soldiers, to establish religious toleration, and to convene a federal assembly. To conciliate the orthodox States of the south, Holland and Zealand, which were now wholly Protestant, were forbidden to take any measures against the Roman Catholic religion.

Don John of Austria.

At this critical moment Philip's half-brother, Don John of Austria, the hero of the victory of Lepanto, appeared in Luxemburg as successor to Requesens. In the face of the general union it was impossible any longer to refuse concessions, and the "Perpetual Edict" confirmed the Pacification of Ghent and promised the immediate removal of the Spanish troops (February, 1577). But the Prince of Orange distrusted the fair promises of Spain, and refused to accept the edict in Holland and Zealand. Don John, hampered by Philip's commands and impatient of constitutional checks, soon alienated the estates. William appeared in Brussels in September, 1577, and the Governor was powerless. But though the Prince was a favorite with the people, he was regarded with jealousy by the nobles of the southern provinces, who called in the Archduke Matthias of Austria. His authority was recognized by the States, but he had no real power. Don John took up arms to maintain his position, and defeated the hostile troops at Gemblours (January, 1578). But Philip II. was jealous of his brilliant half-brother, and refused to

Philip's jealousy.

send supplies of men and money. After suffering a reverse near Mechlin, Don John died, disgusted with the world, at the early age of thirty-two (October 1, 1578). His brief career in the Netherlands had one important result. By his conciliatory measures, he aimed at the dissolution of the Pacification of Ghent, and paved the way for the return of the southern provinces to Spanish rule.

Alexander Farnese.

Don John's successor was his nephew, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, son of the ex-Regent Margaret, and the first general of his age. He pursued the policy of his predecessor with signal success. He made use of the antipathy which the Catholics in the south felt toward the intolerant Calvinists in the north. He was aided by disorders among William's foreign troops, who oppressed the people they had come to defend. The Prince of Orange discovered that it was hopeless to unite all the provinces, and that it was impossible to maintain the Pacification of Ghent. He was obliged to fall back on the devoted population of the north, which was opposed to Spain on religious as well as patriotic grounds. In 1579, the seven provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelders, Zutphen, Groningen and Overyssel formed the Union of Utrecht, the foundation of the Dutch Republic. The authority of Philip was still nominally retained, but this was now a mere form. In 1581, the severance from Spain was

The Union of Utrecht.

publicly announced. But there was as yet no idea of complete independence. The sovereignty was offered to Francis of Anjou, who gladly accepted it. But his pride was hurt by the continued influence of William of Orange, and he determined to establish an independent power by a *coup d'état.* A number of towns were suddenly occupied by his troops. In Antwerp, where the Duke himself was present, the resistance of the citizens led to a massacre which was called the "French Fury." These high-handed proceedings alienated the people, and the Duke of Anjou was compelled to return to France, where he died the next year (1584). The northern provinces now formed an independent constitution under William of Orange, as Count of Holland and Zealand. Soon afterward the Prince, the great Protestant hero of the century, was assassinated by Balthasar Gerard (July 10, 1584). This was the last of seven attempts on his life, all encouraged by the Spanish King, who had set a price on the head of his unconquerable enemy. William's authority descended to his son Maurice, who, in military skill, soon more than rivalled his father.

The "French Fury."

From this time the war ceases to have any but a purely military interest. Alexander of Parma succeeded before his death, in 1592, in reducing the southern provinces to complete obedience. They became the Spanish Netherlands, and, in 1595, Philip gave them

The Spanish Netherlands.

as a dowry to his daughter Isabella on her marriage with the Archduke Albert of Austria. The northern States preserved their independence. This was due partly to the skill and ability of Maurice of Nassau, partly to the assistance of Elizabeth of England, but mainly to the fact that Philip II. found more than enough to do elsewhere. The war with England and the destruction of the Spanish Armada dealt a fearful blow to the power of Spain. Then Philip's connection with the League involved him in French politics. Twice was the Duke of Parma compelled to leave the Netherlands at a critical moment and to lead his army into France. The succession of Henry IV. ruined the schemes of Philip II. Even after his death, in 1598, it was long before Spain would consent to resign its claim to any part of the Netherlands. At last, in 1609, Philip III. concluded a truce for twelve years, which practically secured the independence of the seven provinces, and the Dutch Republic obtained formal recognition by the treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

Philip's difficulties.

The Dutch Republic formally recognized.

DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

(A.D. 1572—1588)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE control of events was, however, passing from the hands of statesmen and diplomatists; and the long period of suspense which their policy had won was ending in the clash of national and political passions. The rising fanaticism of the Catholic world was breaking down the caution and hesitation of Philip; while England set aside the balanced neutrality of her Queen and pushed boldly forward to a contest which it felt to be inevitable. The public opinion, to which the Queen was so sensitive, took every day a bolder and more decided tone. Her cold indifference to the heroic struggle in Flanders was more than compensated by the enthusiasm it excited among the nation at large. The earlier Flemish refugees found a refuge in the Cinque Ports. The exiled merchants of Antwerp were welcomed by the merchants of London. While Elizabeth dribbled out her secret aid to the Prince of Orange, the London traders sent him half a million

Force of public opinion.

from their own purses, a sum equal to a year's revenue of the Crown. Volunteers stole across the Channel in increasing numbers to the aid of the Dutch, till the five hundred Englishmen who fought in the beginning of the struggle rose to a brigade of five thousand, whose bravery turned one of the most critical battles of the war. Dutch privateers found shelter in English ports, and English vessels hoisted the flag of the States for a dash at the Spanish traders. Protestant fervor rose steadily as "the best captains and soldiers" returned from the campaigns in the Low Countries to tell of Alva's atrocities, or as privateers brought back tales of English seamen who had been seized in Spain and the New World to linger amid the tortures of the Inquisition, or to die in its fires. In the presence of this steady drift of popular passion the diplomacy of Elizabeth became of little moment. When she sought to put a check on Philip by one of her last matrimonial intrigues, which threatened England with a Catholic sovereign in the Duke of Anjou, a younger son of the hated Catharine of Medicis, the popular indignation rose suddenly into a cry against "a Popish King" which the Queen dared not defy. If Elizabeth was resolute for peace, England was resolute for war. A new courage had arisen since the beginning of her reign, when Cecil and the Queen stood alone in their belief in England's strength, and when the diplomatists

English aid.

Elizabeth's unpopular diplomacy.

of Europe regarded her obstinate defiance of Philip's counsels as "madness." The whole people had caught the self-confidence and daring of their Queen. The seamen of the southern coast had long been carrying on a half-piratical war on their own account. Four years after Elizabeth's accession the Channel swarmed with "sea-dogs," as they were called, who sailed under letters of marque from the Prince of Condé and the Huguenot leaders, and took heed neither of the complaints of the French Court nor of Elizabeth's own attempts at repression. Her efforts failed before the connivance of every man along the coast, of the very port officers of the Crown who made profit out of the spoil, and of the gentry of the West, who were hand and glove with the adventurers. They broke above all against the national craving for open fight with Spain, and the Protestant craving for open fight with Catholicism. Young Englishmen crossed the sea to serve under Condé or Henry of Navarre. The war in the Netherlands drew hundreds of Protestants to the field. The suspension of the French contest only drove the sea-dogs to the West Indies; for the Papal decree which gave the New World to Spain, and the threats of Philip against any Protestant who should visit its seas, fell idly on the ears of English seamen. It was in vain that their trading vessels were seized, and the sailors flung into the dungeons of the Inquisition,

The "Sea-Dogs."

English volunteers.

"laden with irons, without sight of sun or moon." The profits of the trade were large enough to counteract its perils; and the bigotry of Philip was met by a bigotry as merciless as his own. The Puritanism of the sea-dogs went hand in hand with their love of adventure. To break through the Catholic monopoly of the New World, to kill Spaniards, to sell negroes, to sack gold-ships, were in these men's minds a seemly work for the "elect of God." The name of Francis Drake became the terror of the Spanish Indies. In Drake a Protestant fanaticism was united with a splendid daring. He conceived the design of penetrating into the Pacific, whose waters had never seen an English flag; and, backed by a little company of adventurers, he set sail for the southern seas in a vessel hardly as big as a Channel schooner, with a few yet smaller companions who fell away before the storms and perils of the voyage. But Drake with his one ship and eighty men held boldly on; and, passing the Straits of Magellan, untraversed as yet by any Englishman, swept the unguarded coast of Chili and Peru, loaded his bark with the gold dust and silver ingots of Potosi, and with the pearls, emeralds, and diamonds which formed the cargo of the great galleon that sailed once a year from Lima to Cadiz. With spoils of above half a million in value, the daring adventurer steered undauntedly for the Moluccas, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and,

Francis Drake.

His successful voyage.

after completing the circuit of the globe, dropped anchor again in Plymouth harbor.

The romantic daring of Drake's voyage, as well as the vastness of his spoil, roused a general enthusiasm throughout England. But the welcome he received from Elizabeth on his return was accepted by Philip as an outrage which could only be expiated by war. Sluggish as it was, the blood of the Spanish King was fired at last by the defiance with which Elizabeth received all demands for redress. She met a request for Drake's surrender by knighting the freebooter, and by wearing in her crown the jewels he had offered her as a present. When the Spanish ambassador threatened that "matters would come to the cannon," she replied "quietly, in her most natural voice, as if she were telling a common story," wrote Mendoza, "that if I used threats of that kind she would fling me into a dungeon." Outraged as Philip was, she believed that with the Netherlands still in revolt and France longing for her alliance to enable it to seize them, the King could not afford to quarrel with her. But the sense of personal wrong, and the outcry of the Catholic world against his selfish reluctance to avenge the blood of its martyrs, at last told on the Spanish King, and the first vessels of an armada which was destined for the conquest of England began to gather in the Tagus. Resentment and fanaticism, indeed, were backed

Philip is aroused.

An armada gathers.

by a cool policy. His conquest of Portugal had almost doubled his power. It gave him the one navy that as yet rivalled his own. With the Portuguese colonies his flag claimed mastery in the Indian and the Pacific seas, as it claimed mastery in the Atlantic and Mediterranean; and he had now to shut Englishman and heretic not only out of the New World of the West but out of the lucrative traffic with the East. In the Netherlands, too, and in France all seemed to go well for Philip's schemes. His forces, under Parma, had steadily won their way in the Low Countries, and a more fatal blow had been dealt at his rebellious subjects in the assassination of William of Orange; while all danger of French intervention passed away with the death of the Duke of Anjou, which left Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenot party, heir of the crown of France. To prevent the triumph of heresy in the succession of a Protestant king, the Guises and the French Catholics rose at once in arms; but the Holy League which they formed rested mainly on the support of Philip, and so long as he supplied them with men and money, he was secure on the side of France. It was at this moment that Parma won his crowning triumph in the capture of Antwerp; its fall, after a gallant resistance, convinced even Elizabeth of the need for action if the one "bridle to Spain which kept war out of our own gate" was to be saved. Lord Leicester

The Holy League.

Parma's success.

was hurried to the Flemish coast with 8,000 men. In a yet bolder spirit of defiance Francis Drake was suffered to set sail with a fleet of twenty-five vessels for the Spanish Main. Drake's voyage was a series of triumphs. The wrongs inflicted on English seamen by the Inquisition were requited by the burning of the cities of St. Domingo and Cartagena. The coasts of Cuba and Florida were plundered, and, though the gold fleet escaped him, Drake returned with a heavy booty. But only one disastrous skirmish at Zutphen, the fight in which Sidney fell, broke the inaction of Leicester's forces, while Elizabeth strove vainly to use the presence of his army to negotiate a peace between Philip and the States. Meanwhile dangers thickened round her in England itself. Maddened by persecution, by the hopelessness of rebellion within or of deliverance from without, the fiercer Catholics listened to schemes of assassination to which the murder of William of Orange lent a terrible significance. The detection of Somerville, a fanatic who had received the Host before setting out for London "to shoot the Queen with his dagg," was followed by measures of natural severity, by the flight and arrest of Catholic gentry and peers, by a vigorous purification of the Inns of Court where a few Catholics lingered, and by the despatch of fresh batches of priests to the block. The trial and death of Parry, a member of the House

Drake's plundering expedition.

Somerville's treason.

of Commons who had served in the Queen's household, on a similar charge, fed the general panic. Parliament met in a transport of horror and loyalty. All Jesuits and seminary priests were banished from the realm on pain of death. A bill for the security of the Queen disqualified any claimant of the succession who instigated subjects to rebellion or hurt to the Queen's person from ever succeeding to the crown. The threat was aimed at Mary Stuart. Weary of her long restraint, of her failure to rouse Philip or Scotland to aid her, of the baffled revolt of the English Catholics and the baffled intrigues of the Jesuits, she had bent for a moment to submission. "Let me go," she wrote to Elizabeth; "let me retire from this island to some solitude where I may prepare my soul to die. Grant this, and I will sign away every right which either I or mine can claim." But the cry was useless, and her despair found a new and more terrible hope in the plots against Elizabeth's life. She knew and approved the vow of Anthony Babington and a band of young Catholics, for the most part connected with the royal household, to kill the Queen; but plot and approval alike passed through Walsingham's hands, and the seizure of Mary's correspondence revealed her guilt. In spite of her protest, a Commission of Peers sat as her judges at Fotheringay Castle; and their verdict of "guilty" annihilated, under the provisions of the recent statute, her

General panic.

Babington's conspiracy.

claim to the Crown. The streets of London blazed with bonfires, and peals rang out from steeple to steeple at the news of her condemnation; but, in spite of the prayer of Parliament for her execution, and the pressure of the Council, Elizabeth shrank from her death. The force of public opinion, however, was now carrying all before it, and the unanimous demand of her people wrested at last a sullen consent from the Queen. She flung the warrant signed upon the floor, and the Council took on themselves the responsibility of executing it. Mary died on a scaffold which was erected in the castle-hall at Fotheringay as dauntlessly as she had lived. "Do not weep," she said to her ladies, "I have given my word for you." "Tell my friends," she charged Melville, "that I die a good Catholic."

The death of Mary Stuart.

The blow was hardly struck before Elizabeth turned with fury on the ministers who had forced her hand. Cecil, who had now become Lord Burleigh, was for a while disgraced; and Davison, who carried the warrant to the Council, was flung into the Tower to atone for an act which shattered the policy of the Queen. The death of Mary Stuart in fact seemed to remove the last obstacle out of Philip's way, by putting an end to the divisions of the English Catholics. To him, as to the nearest heir in blood who was of the Catholic faith, Mary bequeathed her rights to the

Impolicy of the execution.

Crown, and the hopes of her adherents were from that moment bound up in the success of Spain. Philip no longer needed pressure to induce him to act. Drake's triumph had taught him that the conquest of England was needful for the security of his dominion in the New World. The presence of an English army in Flanders convinced him that the road to the conquest of the States lay through England itself. The operations of Parma therefore in the Low Countries were suspended with a view to the greater enterprise. Vessels and supplies for the fleet which had for three years been gathering in the Tagus were collected from every port of the Spanish coast. Only the dread of a counter-attack from France, where the fortunes of the League were wavering, held Philip back. But the news of the coming Armada called Drake again to action. He set sail with thirty small barks, burned the storeships and galleys in the harbor of Cadiz, stormed the ports of the Faro, and was only foiled in his aim of attacking the Armada itself by orders from home. A descent upon Corunna, however, completed what Drake called his "singeing of the Spanish King's beard." Elizabeth used the daring blow to back her negotiations for peace; but the Spanish pride had been touched to the quick. Amid the exchange of protocols, Parma gathered seventeen thousand men for the coming invasion, collected a fleet of flat-

Operations in the Low Countries suspended.

Drake sails with thirty small barks.

bottomed transports at Dunkirk, and waited impatiently for the Armada to protect his crossing. But the attack of Drake, the death of its first admiral, and the winter storms delayed the fleet from sailing. The fear of France held it back yet more effectually; but in the spring Philip's patience was rewarded. The League was triumphant, and the King a prisoner in its hands. The Armada at once set sail from Lisbon, but it had hardly started when a gale in the Bay of Biscay drove its scattered vessels into Ferrol. It was only on the 19th of July that the sails of the Armada were seen from the Lizard, and the English beacons flared out their alarm along the coast. The news found England ready. An army was mustering under Leicester at Tilbury, the militia of the midland countries were gathering to London, while those of the south and east were held in readiness to meet a descent on either shore. Had Parma landed on the earliest day he purposed, he would have found his way to London barred by a force stronger than his own, a force too of men in whose ranks were many who had already crossed pikes on equal terms with his best infantry in Flanders. "When I shall have landed," he warned his master, "I must fight battle after battle. I shall lose men by wounds and disease, I must leave detachments behind me to keep open my communications; and in a short time the body of my army will become

The Armada is delayed.

Parma's difficulties.

so weak that not only I may be unable to advance in the face of the enemy, and time may be given to the heretics and your Majesty's other enemies to interfere, but there may fall out some notable inconveniences, with the loss of everything, and I be unable to remedy it." Even had Parma landed, in fact, the only real chance of Spanish success lay in a Catholic rising; and at this crisis patriotism proved stronger than religious fanaticism in the hearts of the English Catholics. Catholic lords brought their vessels up alongside of Drake and Lord Howard, and Catholic gentry led their tenantry to the muster at Tilbury. But to secure a landing at all, the Spaniards had to be masters of the Channel; and in the Channel lay an English fleet resolved to struggle hard for the mastery. As the Armada sailed on in a broad crescent past Plymouth, moving toward its point of junction with Parma at Calais, the vessels which had gathered under Lord Howard of Effingham slipped out of the bay and hung with the wind upon their rear. In numbers the two forces were strangely unequal; the English fleet counted only 80 vessels against the 149 which composed the Armada. In size of ships the disproportion was even greater. Fifty of the English vessels, including the squadron of the Lord Admiral and the craft of the volunteers, were little bigger than yachts of the present day. Even of the thirty Queen's ships which

Patriotism of the English Catholics.

Force of the fleet.

formed its main body, there were only four which equalled in tonnage the smallest of the Spanish galleons. Sixty-five of these galleons formed the most formidable half of the Spanish fleet; and four galleys, four galleasses, armed with fifty guns apiece, fifty-six armed merchantmen, and twenty pinnaces, made up the rest. The Armada was provided with 2,500 cannon, and a vast store of provisions; it had on board 8,000 seamen, and more than 20,000 soldiers; and if a court-favorite, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had been placed at its head, he was supported by the ablest staff of naval officers which Spain possessed. Small, however, as the English ships were, they were in perfect trim; they sailed two feet for the Spaniards' one, they were manned with 9,000 hardy seamen, and their Admiral was backed by a crowd of captains who had won fame in the Spanish seas. With him was Hawkins, who had been the first to break into the charmed circle of the Indies; Frobisher, the hero of the Northwest Passage; and above all Drake, who held command of the privateers. They had won, too, the advantage of the wind, and, closing in or drawing off as they would, the lightly-handled English vessels, which fired four shots to the Spaniards' one, hung boldly on the rear of the great fleet as it moved along the Channel. "The feathers of the Spaniard," in the phrase of the English seamen, were "plucked one

Swiftness of the English ships.

by one." Galleon after galleon was sunk, boarded, driven on shore; and yet Medina Sidonia failed in bringing his pursuers to a close engagement. Now halting, now moving slowly on, the running fight between the two fleets lasted throughout the week, till the Armada dropped anchor in Calais roads. The time had now come for sharper work if the junction of the Armada with Parma was to be prevented; for, demoralized as the Spaniards had been by the merciless chase, their loss in ships had not been great, while, though the numbers of English ships had grown, their supplies of food and ammunition were fast running out. Howard resolved to force an engagement, and, lighting eight fire-ships at midnight, sent them down with the tide upon the Spanish line. The galleons at once cut their cables, and stood out in panic to sea, drifting with the wind in a long line off Gravelines. Drake resolved at all costs to prevent their return. At dawn the English ships closed fairly in, and almost their last cartridge was spent ere the sun went down. Three great galleons had sunk, three had drifted helplessly on to the Flemish coast; but the bulk of the Spanish vessels remained, and even to Drake the fleet seemed "wonderful great and strong." Within the Armada itself, however, all hope was gone. Huddled together by the wind and the deadly English fire, their sails torn, their masts shot away, the

The Armada reaches Calais.

Fire-ships create panic.

Terrible Spanish loss.

crowded galleons had become mere slaughter-houses. Four thousand men had fallen, and bravely as the seamen fought they were cowed by the terrible butchery. Medina himself was in despair. "We are lost, Señor Oquenda," he cried to his bravest captain; "what are we to do?" "Let others talk of being lost," replied Oquenda, "your Excellency has only to order up fresh cartridge." But Oquenda stood alone, and a council of war resolved on retreat to Spain by the one course open, that of a circuit round the Orkneys. "Never anything pleased me better," wrote Drake, "than seeing the enemy fly with a southerly wind to the northward. Have a good eye to the Prince of Parma, for, with the grace of God, if we like, I doubt not ere it be long so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish himself at St. Mary Port among his orange trees." But the work of destruction was reserved for a mightier foe than Drake. Supplies fell short and the English vessels were forced to give up the chase; but the Spanish ships which remained had no sooner reached the Orkneys than the storms of the northern seas broke on them with a fury before which all concert and union disappeared. Fifty reached Corunna, bearing ten thousand men stricken with pestilence and death. Of the rest some were sunk, some dashed to pieces against the Irish cliffs. The wreckers of the Orkneys and the Faroes, the

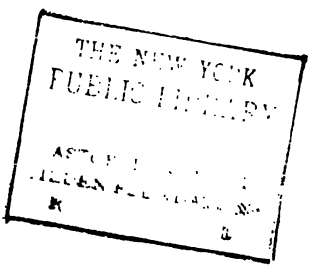
The Armada flees northward.

Storms complete its ruin.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew

(A.D. 1572)

After Painting by Debat-Ponsan


THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

clansmen of the Scottish Isles, the kernes of Donegal and Galway, all had their part in the work of murder and robbery. Eight thousand Spaniards perished between the Giant's Causeway and the Blaskets. On a strand near Sligo an English captain numbered eleven hundred corpses which had been cast up by the sea. The flower of the Spanish nobility, who had been sent on the new crusade under Alonzo da Leyva, after twice suffering shipwreck, put a third time to sea to founder on a reef near Dunluce.

The flower of the Spanish nobility founder on a reef.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

(A.D. 1572)

RICHARD LODGE

A ROYAL edict forbade the celebration of the reformed service under penalty of death, and ordered the Huguenot preachers to leave the kingdom within fourteen days. An attempt was made to seize Condé and Coligny, and only with great difficulty could they escape to La Rochelle. This port became the headquarters of the Huguenots, and enabled them to keep up their connection with England and the Netherlands. Hither came Condé's sister-in-law, Jeanne, with her young son, Henry of Navarre.

The Huguenot headquarters.

Before the end of 1568 the third religious war had broken out in France. It is impossible here to follow the military movements. In the open field the Catholics, under Henry of Anjou, were constantly successful. In the battle of Jarnac (March 13, 1569), the Huguenots were routed and Condé slain. He was succeeded in the command by Coligny, who never displayed more conspicuous courage and conduct. But want of money to pay his troops compelled him to risk a battle

Success of the Catholics.

against superior forces, and at Montcontour (October 3, 1569) he was again defeated. Had the Catholics promptly followed up the victory, they might have crushed the Huguenots. But the government was beginning to vacillate. Catharine de Medici had no sympathy with the ambitious schemes of Philip II., who wished to use France as a tool. And Charles IX. was jealous of the military successes of his younger brother, the Duke of Anjou, who was the favorite of his mother and the Catholic party. The influence of the Guises, who were hand and glove with Philip II., declined. In August, 1570, the treaty of St. Germain put an end to hostilities. Religious freedom and the right of public service were confirmed to the Huguenots, and they received four towns as places of refuge, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac and La Charité.

Vacillation of the government.

Treaty of St. Germain

This treaty was followed by a great change in the attitude of the French court. Charles IX. showed an unexpected determination to assume the reins of government. He wished to free France from foreign influence, and to emulate the achievements of his father and grandfather. The connection with Spain was broken off, and negotiations were opened with England and the Netherlands. It was proposed that Elizabeth should marry the Duke of Anjou, and, after that was given up, the Duke of Alençon. Lewis of Nassau, the brother of William the Silent, was well re-

Charles shows determination

ceived at court. In domestic politics Charles broke with the Guises and allied himself with the moderate party. His youngest sister, Margaret, was betrothed to the young Henry of Navarre. Coligny was invited to court, and there soon obtained great influence over the weak and impulsive King. He urged an immediate war against Spain, and Charles IX. accepted the plan.

But before this could be carried out, Catharine de Medici hurried back to Paris, determined to employ any means in her power to prevent such a reversal of her previous policy and to restore her influence over her son. In alliance with the Duke of Anjou she determined to get rid of Coligny. He was fired at from a window near the court and wounded, though not mortally. This attack made him more popular and more dangerous than ever. The Huguenots were assembled in great numbers to celebrate the wedding of Henry of Navarre. The population of Paris was fanatically hostile to them, and Catharine determined to free herself from all danger by a general massacre in which Coligny and his followers might share a common fate. The unfortunate Charles IX. was induced to give the necessary orders by the entreaties and threats of his mother and brother. At midnight, on 24th of August, 1572, the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois gave the appointed signal. The murder of Coligny was superin-

Attempted assassination of Coligny.

tended by Henry of Guise, the son and successor of Francis. In Paris the mob rose and slaughtered the unsuspecting Huguenots. Other towns followed the example of Paris. Nearly 20,000 victims fell in this "Massacre of St. Bartholomew," or the "Paris Matins."

Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

It has often been asserted that the massacre had long ago been decided upon, and that Catharine had only waited for the favorable moment to carry it out. It has been regarded as the direct outcome of Alva's advice at the Conference of Bayonne. But this is not only improbable but almost impossible. Catharine's guiding motive was not religious bigotry, but personal and dynastic ambition. She could never have reckoned on so favorable a circumstance as the presence of so many unarmed Huguenots in the midst of the bloodthirsty mob of Paris. Everything points clearly to the conclusion that the impulse to its execution was sudden, and arose from the immediate position of affairs.

Catherine's motive.

The news of the massacre roused the remaining Huguenots to a new war of defence. But, weakened as they were by the loss of their leaders, there seemed little prospect of their success. The government issued orders proscribing the reformed religion, and prepared four armies to reduce those towns which refused obedience. The heroic resistance offered by two towns, Rochelle and Sancerre, rivals the most celebrated deed of antiquity.

The Huguenots are roused.

And meanwhile the massacres had called into existence a new party called the Politiques, which adhered to neither of the rival creeds, but insisted on the necessity of toleration. At its head were the Montmorencies, the sons of the Constable, who, though Catholics, inherited their father's opposition to the Guises. The government found it impossible to carry out their policy. The edict of July, 1573, secured liberty of conscience and permitted the Huguenot worship in Rochelle, Nismes, and Montauban. Through the mediation of the Polish envoy, Sancerre was admitted to the same privileges.

The Politiques.

Thus the policy of massacre proved a failure. The Huguenots could not be crushed by such measures. Charles IX., who never recovered after the horrors of St. Bartholomew, and was ever haunted by imaginary visions of its victims, died, without male issue, on May 30, 1574. The crown passed to his brother, Henry III., who had just ascended the throne of Poland, but who promptly deserted his northern kingdom, and made his way through Italy to France. Till his arrival, the administration fell once more into the hands of Catharine de Medici.

Remorse of Charles IX.

[Akbar conquers Guzerat (1572); Bahar (1575); Malwa (1578); Bengal (1584); Lahore (1585); and Cashmere (1586). Philip II. conquers Portugal (1580).]

THE LEAGUE

(A.D. 1576—1598)

W. C. TAYLOR

THE Duke of Alençon, who afterward obtained the title of Duke of Anjou, and the King of Navarre, had been restored to liberty by Henry immediately after his arrival in France; but finding themselves exposed to suspicion, and deprived of all interest in the state, they quitted the court to place themselves at the head of the politicians and the Protestants. The war was distinguished by no great exploit on either side, and was terminated by a peace, in which more favorable conditions were granted to the Huguenots than they had hitherto obtained. The violent Catholics, headed by the Duke of Guise, loudly protested against this treaty, which they deemed subversive of the established religion, and entered into an alliance called the Holy League, in defence of what they called true Catholicity. The declared objects of this union were to defend the Church, the King, and the State; its effects were the dishonoring of religion, the murder

Objects of the League.

of the King, and almost the utter ruin of the nation. As soon as the Huguenots had learned the news of this powerful combination for their destruction, they prepared to defend themselves, and stood to their arms in every part of the provinces. Henry III., after some vain attempts to remain neutral, embraced the party of the League, and recalled the edicts of toleration which he had lately issued; but there is some reason to doubt his sincerity in this transaction; in fact, he seems to have placed himself at the head of the League, merely to exclude the Duke of Guise from being appointed its leader.

Henry's policy.

For five years the history of France presents nothing to our view but a series of petty combats, enterprises badly planned and worse executed, treaties hastily made, and as hastily broken; treachery, disunion, and discontent in every part of the kingdom. The Protestants were broken into as many parties as there were leaders; the King of Navarre, who was nominally their head, suffered full as much from the jealousy of his followers as from the malice of his enemies; on the other hand, the King mortally detested the Duke of Guise, whose popularity with the clergy and people made him a rival rather than a subject, and the Duke despised the King, to whose incapacity he attributed the continued existence of heresy.

Warring factions.

The death of the Duke of Anjou, and the

improbability of Henry's ever having any children, soon made the members of the League develop their real designs. Henry of Navarre, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, was the next heir to the crown; but as he was only related to the King in the fourteenth degree, and was besides a Protestant, Catharine and the Duke of Guise severally labored to prevent his succession. Catharine resolved, in defiance of the Salic law, to procure the crown for the descendants of her favorite daughter, the Duchess of Lorraine; the Duke of Guise, with duplicity equal to her own, pretended to join in her design, but strenuously labored to procure the rich inheritance for himself. The clergy were the foremost in exciting a new war; every pulpit resounded with declamations on the dangers of the Church if the throne were possessed by a Protestant, and the press, which was almost totally in the hands of the ecclesiastics, produced daily the most inflammatory appeals to the prejudices and bigotry of the nation. In these invectives the King was not spared; his severe edicts for raising new taxes, his lavish profusion to unworthy favorites, his disgraceful debaucheries, and the hypocritical grimace which he substituted for devotion, furnished ample scope for satire; and it was said in addition that he had formed a secret alliance with the King of Navarre for the protection of the Huguenots. The Duke of Guise was

Catharine's schemes.

Guise's ambition.

the mainspring of all these complicated movements; as he could not openly claim the crown for himself, he persuaded the old Cardinal of Bourbon, uncle to the King of Navarre, that he was the right heir to the crown in consequence of his nephew's heresy. The Cardinal, whom contemporary historians briefly but emphatically designate an "old fool," was easily persuaded to assert his chimerical claim, and published a manifesto declaring himself chief of the League. Henry, however, could not be persuaded to set aside the claims of his cousin, the King of Navarre, even though that prince had refused to come near the court after he had been frequently invited, and had firmly resisted every attempt made to persuade him to change his religion.

The Cardinal of Bourbon.

The accession of the King of Spain to the League became the signal for renewing the war; the Protestants fought no longer for their privileges but for their existence; the Duke of Guise scarcely concealed his designs upon the throne, the King of France was exposed to the attacks of both factions, and was in equal danger from the success of either. This is generally called the war of the three Henrys; viz., the King of France, the King of Navarre, and the Duke of Guise. The most extraordinary of all the matters connected with this tedious conflict was the conduct of the Pope; though the League was professedly intended to exalt the power of the Holy See,

War of the three Henrys.

Sextus V. looked upon it as a rebellious alliance, equally dangerous to the interests of royalty and religion.

But whatever may have been the private sentiments of the Pope, his bull afforded a pretext to the Leaguers, of which the Duke of Guise was not slow in availing himself. The leaders of the sixteen departments into which Paris was divided, the entire mob of that city, all the clergy, regular and secular, were on his side; and the deposition of Henry III. was an object openly avowed by his partisans. The Duke's brother, the Cardinal of Guise, declared publicly that the King should be sent into a monastery: his sister, the Duchess of Montpensier, whom Henry had insulted by some remarks on her want of personal beauty, exhibited the scissors which were to give him the clerical tonsure.

Desired deposition of Henry III.

Henry of Navarre began now to show some proofs of those noble qualities which have since deservedly procured for him the title of Great. The weakness and indecision of his father had shaken the confidence of the Protestants in the house of Bourbon; but his mother had redeemed the errors of her husband; she was adored by her subjects, with whom she loved to reside, far from the intrigues and vices of the court. In the remote and wild districts of Bearne, Henry received the education of a hardy mountaineer, and was early taught to encounter difficulties and dan-

Henry of Navarre.

gers. When brought to court, he was not proof against the seductive arts by which Catharine de' Medicis endeavored to bring him over to her party. Indifferent as to the means by which her ends were accomplished, Catharine labored with some success to lead the young prince into habits of debauchery, in order that she might rule his actions by means of the artful mistresses with which she had supplied him. But the impending dangers of the League woke him from his dream of guilty pleasure; he placed himself at the head of the Protestant party when its fortunes were at the lowest ebb; often defeated but never conquered, he maintained his ground amid the violence of enemies and the insincerity of friends, until he finally triumphed.

Catharine's seductive arts.

Catharine made some ineffectual efforts to prevent this war by negotiation, but being distrusted by both parties, she completely failed. The royal army, under the Duke of Joyeuse, an unworthy favorite of Henry's, was totally defeated at Contras by the King of Navarre. On the other hand, the Duke of Guise cut to pieces an army of Germans which had invaded France to make a diversion in favor of the Huguenots. The populace of Paris were so intoxicated with joy at the news of the victory obtained by their idol, that Henry, who had appeared for some time to have resigned all care of the state, was roused from

Victory of Guise.

his lethargy by the imminent peril that threatened his crown and life. He sent an express to Guise, forbidding him to approach Paris; but the Duke, pretending not to have received the royal mandate, hastened his approach to the city, and was received there with all the honors of a triumph. In order to reduce the power of the Sixteen, Henry introduced a body of his Swiss guards into Paris, but the citizens, instigated by the partisans of Guise, immediately took up arms; the shops were shut, the alarm bells rung, barricades and chains were drawn across the streets, and the soldiers driven back from post to post, until the King found himself and his attendants closely penned up in the Louvre. Henry escaped during the night, leaving the Duke of Guise in full possession of the capital, but Catharine remained behind to exert her arts of intrigue in bringing about an accommodation. A treaty was concluded, which neither party intended to observe, and in consequence of one of its stipulations an assembly of the States was ordered to be held at Blois. The debates and votes in this assembly sufficiently showed the dangerous designs entertained by the Duke of Guise, and the great resources that he possessed for their accomplishment. To proceed against him for high treason would have been absurd, when all the States of the realm were in his favor; open war would certainly terminate in the King's de

Paris in revolt.

feat; nothing then remained but the detestable means of assassination, and this Henry determined to adopt. Having armed nine of his most trusty followers with daggers, Henry sent to invite the Duke of Guise to a speedy conference on matters of the utmost importance. The Duke hastened to obey, but just as he was about to enter the room in which the King was, the assassins fell on him, and he was instantly slain. His brother, the Cardinal, shared the same fate on the following day.

Assassination of Guise.

Henry proceeded from the scene of blood to his mother's apartments, and announcing to her the news, said, "Now, madam, I am indeed a king"; she heard the account with the utmost indifference, but advised him to take advantage of the confusion which the event would cause in the League, and secure Paris. But Henry, believing all danger removed by the death of his greatest enemy, relapsed into his ordinary indolence.

Henry's exultation

Instead of "finding himself indeed a king," Henry, in consequence of his crime, was on the brink of ruin. The members of the League openly threw off their allegiance, and choosing as their leader the Duke de Mayenne, the brother of the murdered Duke, gave him the pompous title of "lieutenant-general of the royal state and crown of France," which was in fact giving him the authority of a sovereign without the name. Most of the provinces and large cities of France declared in

favor of the League, and Henry saw no hopes of preserving his authority unless he obtained the assistance of his cousin of Navarre. Their natural necessities compelled both to bury their former animosities in oblivion; the two Henrys had an interview at the castle of Plessis les Tours, and entered into a close alliance which was never afterward violated. Henry III. was now superior to his enemies; he advanced to Paris and laid close siege to the city; the inhabitants were unprepared for his attacks, they had but a small stock of provisions and an inadequate garrison; the Duke de Mayenne was unable to collect an army for their relief; everything seemed to promise a speedy surrender, when an unexpected event produced a new and total revolution.

Alliance of the Henrys.

A monk named James Clement was persuaded by his own fanaticism, aided by the artful suggestions of some of the Leaguers, that he would perform a meritorious action by killing a monarch who was an enemy to the Church. For this purpose he resolved to go on to St. Cloud, where the King resided, and, under the pretence of giving him a letter, stab him in the midst of his guards. Never did an assassin display so much intrepidity; on his road he met La Guesle and his brother, who were going to join the royal army; he was by them conveyed to the camp, and spent the night of his arrival in their tent. He supped gayly with La Guesle's followers,

Assassination of Henry III.

torted with considerable humor the jokes passed on his monkish habit, readily answered every question put to him, and after leaving the table, spent the night in a profound sleep. On the following morning he was introduced to the King, and presented his letters; while Henry was engaged in looking at them, Clement stabbed him with a knife which he had concealed in his sleeve; the King immediately called out that he was murdered, and drawing out the knife from the wound, struck the assassin in the face; at the same time the attendants despatched him with their swords. The death of Clement prevented any discovery of those by whom he had been instigated to the atrocious deed, but it appears very probable that the family of Lorraine were those who had most share in the contrivance, in revenge for the murder of the Duke of Guise. When Henry found that his wound was mortal, he prepared for death with much apparent resignation. He took an affectionate farewell of the King of Navarre, whom he declared his successor, after having strenuously exhorted him to conciliate his future subjects by embracing the Catholic religion. Having then confessed himself with much apparent devotion, he expired in the thirty-eighth year of his age and the fifteenth of his reign.

The instigators.

The death of Henry III. relieved Paris from the imminent dangers to which it had

been exposed; the title of Henry IV. was, indeed, acknowledged by the principal leaders of the besieging army, but his religion prevented them from warmly espousing his cause; the greater part drew off their forces, and Henry was compelled to raise the siege, which his diminished forces could no longer continue. Henry IV. raises the siege.

The Duke de Mayenne, who might have assumed the title of King, chose rather to proclaim the Cardinal of Bourbon, though he remained a prisoner; and, having collected a numerous band of Leaguers, he pursued Henry on his retreat to Normandy. The royalists, though inferior in numbers, gained two brilliant victories at Arques and Ivri, over the partisans of the League; but though these triumphs served to raise the character of Henry, they were not sufficient to crush a party bound together by the gold of Spain and the spiritual authority of the Pope. Defeats of the League.

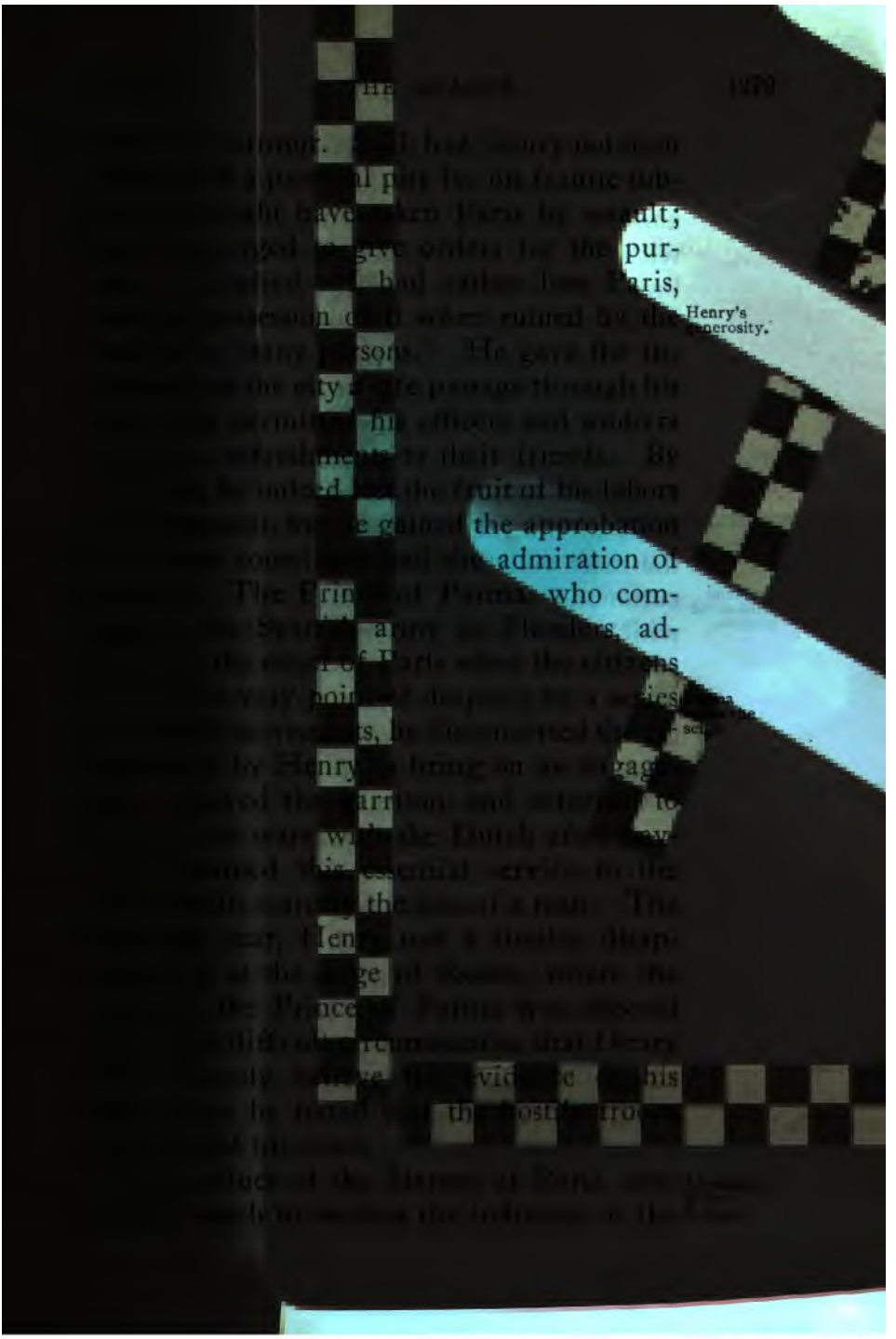
His own followers gave the King nearly as much trouble as his enemies; the Catholic royalists detested the Huguenots; the Protestants returned the hatred, and were, besides, divided among themselves; the princes of the blood were either too young to exert any influence, or had ranged themselves under the banners of the League, and Henry found himself engaged in this dangerous war almost solely dependent on his own personal resources. The King of Spain was anxious to obtain the crown of France for his daughter, Clara Eugenia; the Protestant

princes of Europe, dreading the additional power that would thus be added to the Spanish monarchy, already formidable, resolved to support the cause of Henry, Queen Elizabeth, especially, assisting him with money and warlike stores.

Elizabeth aids Henry.

These aids, and the confidence inspired by several successive triumphs, soon enabled Henry to undertake the siege of Paris, where the hatred of the Leaguers displayed itself with more violence in proportion as the King showed himself more worthy of affection. Though their shadow of a king, the Cardinal de Bourbon, had lately died, and they had not selected any other in his place, so far were they from thinking of submitting to their rightful sovereign, that the doctors of the Sorbonne declared that Henry, being a relapsed heretic, could not receive the crown even though he should obtain absolution, and this shameful decree was confirmed by the Parliament. In the meantime, Paris, being closely blockaded and ill supplied with provisions, was attacked by all the horrors of a severe famine. Bread was made of bones ground into powder, food the most revolting was eagerly sought after, multitudes dropped daily dead in the street from extreme starvation, but no one spoke of yielding. The clergy had promised a crown of martyrdom to all who died in the cause of the Church, and their deluded followers submitted to every privation

Famine in Paris.



League; these hot-headed rebels pretended to give the law both to the Duke de Mayenne and the Parliament. When a man whom they wished to destroy was acquitted, they suddenly broke out into the most furious excesses, and actually hanged three of the magistrates who had been judges at the trial, among whom was Brisson, the first president of the Parliament. The Duke de Mayenne acted on this occasion with a promptitude and decision foreign to his character; he marched to Paris at the head of his most trusty followers, delivered the most violent of the murderers to the executioner, deprived the Sixteen of the Bastille, which had been their principal stronghold, and thus finally crushed a detestable faction, which derived its whole strength from the madness of fanaticism. But these favorable events were not sufficient to put Henry in possession of the kingdom, while he professed a religion odious to the majority of his subjects; his most faithful followers, Protestant as well as Catholic, recommended him to change his religion, and Henry only delayed through fear of offending Elizabeth and the Protestant princes of Germany. At length, finding that the States-General had proceeded so far as to offer the crown to the Spanish Infanta, on condition of her marrying a French prince, Henry saw that further delay might bring ruin on his cause, and publicly abjured Protestantism in the Church of St. Denis. Though

Mayenne crushes the faction.

Henry abjures Protestantism.

this conversion was anything but sincere, it was followed by the most beneficial effects. The nobility, in general, hastened to reconcile themselves to a king whose character they respected, and most of those who still held out, only did so in hopes of receiving some reward for returning to their allegiance. The Duke de Mayenne and some few of the more violent Leaguers, however, obstinately refused to acknowledge the King, until he had received absolution from the Pope; the bigoted clergy preached with their accustomed vehemence against "the man of Bearn," as they still called their sovereign; but the efforts of some men of genius who had joined the royal cause, weakened the force of their invectives. Several ingenious writings against the follies and absurdities of these ignorant bigots, especially the Menippean satire, covered them with such merited ridicule, that they found their declamations unheeded and neglected. At length Paris opened its gates to Henry, and found in him not a vindictive conqueror, but a paternal sovereign.

Paris opens her gates.

At length the long expected bull of absolution arrived from the Pope; and the Leaguers, having no further grounds of resistance, prepared everywhere for submission. The Duke de Mayenne set the example, and during the remainder of his life was one of Henry's most faithful and devoted subjects; the other chiefs followed his example, but exacted a high price

for the purchase of their loyalty, which Henry, notwithstanding the disordered state of his finances, faithfully paid. Philip, King of Spain, was now Henry's only enemy; and even he, notwithstanding his blind and brutal obstinacy of character, saw that the League was irretrievably ruined. He still continued the war, captured Calais, and soon after added to his conquests the city of Amiens, which his forces surprised. But Henry soon recovered the latter, and forced the Spanish army to retreat. The Protestants were naturally displeased with the King for having deserted their religion, and were inclined to create disturbances in the provinces. Henry, therefore, to conciliate this portion of his subjects, issued the celebrated Edict of Nantes, by which they were granted a perfect toleration of their religion, and full security both in person and property. Soon afterward the war with Spain was terminated by the treaty of Vervins, which Henry, by the tacit consent of his allies, the Dutch and English, concluded separately with Philip.

Ruin of the League.

Edict of Nantes.

THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND AND COLONIZATION OF ULSTER

(A.D. 1588—1610)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE alarm, however, at English aggression had already spread among the natives; and its result was seen in a revolt of the north, and in the rise of a leader far more vigorous and able than any with whom the government had had as yet to contend. Ireland and Elizabeth. An acceptance of the Earldom of Tyrone by the chief of the O'Neills brought about the inevitable conflict between the system of succession recognized by English and that recognized by Irish law. On the death of the Earl, England acknowledged his eldest son as the heir of his Earldom; while the sept maintained their older right of choosing a chief from among the members of the family, and preferred Shane O'Neill, a younger son of less doubtful legitimacy. Success of Shane O'Neill. Sussex marched northward to settle the question by force of arms; but ere he could reach Ulster the activity of Shane had quelled the disaffection of his rivals, the O'Donnells of Donegal, and

won over the Scots of Antrim. "Never before," wrote Sussex, "durst Scot or Irishman look Englishman in the face in plain or wood since I came here;" but Shane had fired his men with a new courage, and charging the Deputy's army with a force hardly half its number, drove it back in rout on Armagh. A promise of pardon induced him to visit London, and make an illusory submission, but he was no sooner safe home again than its terms were set aside; and after a wearisome struggle, in which Shane foiled the efforts of the Lord Deputy to entrap or to poison him, he remained virtually master of the north. His success stirred larger dreams of ambition; he invaded Connaught, and pressed Clanrickard hard: while he replied to the remonstrances of the Council at Dublin with a bold defiance. "By the sword I have won these lands," he answered, "and by the sword will I keep them." But defiance broke idly against the skill and vigor of Sir Henry Sidney, who succeeded Sussex as Lord Deputy. The rival septs of the north were drawn into a rising against O'Neill, while the English army advanced from the Pale; and Shane, defeated by the O'Donnells, took refuge in Antrim, and was hewn to pieces in a drunken squabble by his Scottish entertainers. The victory of Sidney won ten years of peace for the wretched country; but Ireland had already been fixed on by the Papacy as ground

Courage of the Irish.

Death of Shane.

on which it could with advantage fight out its quarrel with Elizabeth. Practically indeed the religious question hardly existed there. The ecclesiastical policy of the Protestants had indeed been revived in name on the Queen's accession; Rome was again renounced, the new Act of Uniformity forced the English Prayer-book on the island, and compelled attendance at the services in which it was used. There was as before a general air of compliance with the law; even in the districts without the Pale the bishops generally conformed, and the only exceptions of which we have any information were to be found in the extreme south and in the north, where resistance was distant enough to be safe. But the real cause of this apparent submission to the Act of Uniformity lay in the fact that it remained, and necessarily remained, a dead letter. It was impossible to find any considerable number of English ministers, or of Irish priests acquainted with English. Meath was one of the most civilized dioceses, and out of a hundred curates in it hardly ten knew any tongue save their own. The promise that the service-book should be translated into Irish was never fulfilled, and the final clause of the Act itself authorized the use of a Latin rendering of it till further order could be taken. But this, like its other provisions, was ignored, and throughout Elizabeth's reign the gentry of the Pale went unquestioned to

Act of Uniformity.

Ignorance of English.

Mass. There was in fact no religious persecution, and in the many complaints of Shane O'Neill we find no mention of a religious grievance. But this was far from being the view of Rome or of Spain, of the Catholic missionaries, or of the Irish exiles abroad. They represented, and perhaps believed, the Irish people to be writhing under a religious oppression which they were burning to shake off. They saw in the Irish loyalty to Catholicism a lever for overthrowing the heretic Queen when in 1579 the Papacy planned the greatest and most comprehensive of its attacks upon Elizabeth. While missionaries egged on the English Catholics to revolt, the Pope hastened to bring about a Catholic revolution in Scotland and in Ireland. Stukely, an Irish refugee, had long pressed on the Pope and Spain the policy of a descent on Ireland; and his plans were carried out at last by the landing of a small force on the shores of Kerry. In spite of the arrival in the following year of two thousand Papal soldiers accompanied by a Legate, the attempt ended in a miserable failure. The fort of Smerwick, in which the invaders intrenched themselves, was forced by the new Deputy, Lord Grey, to surrender, and its garrison put ruthlessly to the sword. The Earl of Desmond, who after long indecision rose to support them, was defeated and hunted over his own country, which the panic-born cruelty of his

Spanish and Papal invasion.

pursuers harried into a wilderness. Pitiless as it was, the work done in Munster spread a terror over the land which served England in good stead when the struggle with Catholicism culminated in the fight with the Armada; and not a chieftain stirred during that memorable year save to massacre the miserable men who were shipwrecked along the coast of Bantry or Sligo.

Government of terror.

The power of the government was from this moment recognized everywhere throughout the land. But it was a power founded solely on terror; and the outrages and exactions of the soldiery, who had been flushed with rapine and bloodshed in the south, sowed, during the years which followed the reduction of Munster, the seeds of a revolt more formidable than any which Elizabeth had yet encountered. The tribes of Ulster, divided by the policy of Sidney, were again united by the common hatred of their oppressors; and in Hugh O'Neill they found a leader of even greater ability than Shane himself. Hugh had been brought up at the English court, and was in manners and bearing an Englishman; he had been rewarded for his steady loyalty in previous contests by a grant of the Earldom of Tyrone; and in his strife with a rival chieftain of his clan he had secured aid from the government by an offer to introduce the English laws and shire-system into his new country. But he was no sooner undisputed master

Hugh O'Neill heads revolt.

of the north than his tone gradually changed. Whether from a long-formed plan, or from suspicion of English designs upon himself, he at last took a position of open defiance. It was at the moment when the Treaty of Vervins, and the wreck of the second Armada, freed Elizabeth's hands from the struggle with Spain, that the revolt under Hugh O'Neill broke the quiet which had prevailed since the victories of Lord Grey. The Irish question again became the chief trouble of the Queen. The tide of her recent triumphs seemed at first to have turned. A defeat of the English forces in Tyrone caused a general rising of the northern tribes; and a great effort made, in 1599, for the suppression of the growing revolt failed through the vanity and disobedience, if not the treacherous complicity, of the Queen's lieutenant, the young Earl of Essex. His successor, Lord Mountjoy, found himself master on his arrival of only a few miles round Dublin. But in three years the revolt was at an end. A Spanish force which landed to support it at Kinsale was driven to surrender; a line of forts secured the country as the English mastered it; all open opposition was crushed out by the energy and the ruthlessness of the new lieutenant; and a famine which followed on his ravages completed the devastating work of the sword. Hugh O'Neill was brought in triumph to Dublin; the Earl of Desmond, who had again roused Munster into

The Irish question.

The revolt at an end.

revolt, fled for refuge to Spain; and the work of conquest was at last brought to a close. Under the administration of Mountjoy's successor, Sir Arthur Chichester, an able and determined effort was made for the settlement of the conquered province by the general introduction of a purely English system of government, justice, and property. Every vestige of the old Celtic constitution of the country was rejected as "barbarous." The tribal authority of the chiefs was taken from them by law. They were reduced to the position of great nobles and landowners, while their tribesmen rose from subjects into tenants, owing only fixed and customary dues and services to their lords. The tribal system of property in common was set aside, and the communal holdings of the tribesmen turned into the copyholds of English law. In the same way the chieftains were stripped of their hereditary jurisdiction, and the English system of judges and trial by jury substituted for their proceedings under Brehon or customary law. To all this the Celts opposed the tenacious obstinacy of their race. Irish juries, then as now, refused to convict. Glad as the tribesmen were to be freed from the arbitrary exactions of their chiefs, they held them for chieftains still. The attempt made by Chichester, under pressure from England, to introduce the English uniformity of religion ended in utter failure; for the Englishry of the Pale remained as

Conquest and Settlement.

The Reformation.

The tribal system abolished.

Catholic as the native Irishry; and the sole result of the measure was to build up a new Irish people out of both on the common basis of religion. Much, however, had been done by the firm yet moderate government of the Deputy, and signs were already appearing of a disposition on the part of the people to conform gradually to the new usages, when the English Council, under Elizabeth's successor, suddenly resolved upon and carried through the great revolutionary measure which is known as the Colonization of Ulster. The pacific and conservative policy of Chichester was abandoned for a vast policy of spoliation; two-thirds of the north of Ireland was declared to have been confiscated to the Crown by the part its possessors had taken in a recent effort at revolt; and the lands which were thus gained were allotted to new settlers of Scotch and English extraction. In its material results the Plantation of Ulster was undoubtedly a brilliant success. Farms and homesteads, churches and mills, rose fast amid the desolate wilds of Tyrone. The Corporation of London undertook the colonization of Derry, and gave to the little town the name which its heroic defence has made so famous. The foundations of the economic prosperity which has raised Ulster high above the rest of Ireland in wealth and intelligence were undoubtedly laid in the confiscation of 1610. Nor did the measure meet with any opposition at the

The colonization of Ulster.

Consequent prosperity.

time save that of secret discontent. The evicted natives withdrew sullenly to the lands which had been left them by the spoiler; but all faith in English justice had been torn from the minds of the Irishry, and the seed had been sown of that fatal harvest of distrust and disaffection, which was to be reaped through tyranny and massacre in the age to come.

No faith in English justice.

THE COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA

(A.D. 1602—1611)

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER

IN 1602, an attempt was made by Bartholomew Gosnold to colonize New England, which was then known by the name of Northern Virginia. The enterprise failed, but Gosnold came back fully impressed with the idea of its feasibility. He succeeded in imparting his views to a little knot of men, among whom was the Richard Hakluyt who had devoted his life to the celebration of the deeds of maritime daring by which the last reign had been distinguished. It was of far more importance for the ultimate destinies of the colony that he succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of John Smith. Smith was still a young man, but he had gone through more hardships and adventures than had fallen to the lot of any other Englishman, even in that adventurous age. He had served in the Low Countries against the Spaniards, and in Hungary against the Turks. He had been thrown overboard in a storm in the Mediterranean by the crew of a French ship in which

Gosnold's voyage to New England.

Smith's adventures.

he was, who imagined that the presence of a Huguenot on board had called down the vengeance of Heaven upon their vessel. He had been taken prisoner by the Turks, and had been sent to serve as a slave among the Tartars on the Don. But whatever might happen, he was always able to turn it to account. In the worst dangers he knew what was the right thing to be done. For such a scheme as that which Gosnold proposed, the presence of such a man was indispensable to success.

For a year Gosnold and his friends were unable to find means to carry their plan into execution. They were, however, not alone in the hopes with which they were inspired. In 1605, a ship, commanded by Captain Weymouth, was fitted out by the Earls of Arundel and Southampton. On his return, Weymouth brought with him five natives of New England. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was Governor of Plymouth, fell in with him, and conversed with him on the countries which he had visited. He took three of the Indians into his house, and obtained every possible information from them. From that time he set his heart upon the colonization of America. He acquainted Chief Justice Popham with his designs. Popham had always taken a deep interest in the mercantile and maritime enterprises of the time, and readily agreed to ask the King for a charter authorizing the proposed undertaking. He became acquainted

Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

with Gosnold's desire to carry out a similar enterprise, and both schemes were comprehended in the charter which he obtained.

The first Virginia charter, 1606.

That charter was dated April 10, 1606. It declared that Virginia extended from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, or, in other words, from what is now the southern boundary of the State of North Carolina to the shores of Nova Scotia. On this long line of coast two settlements were to be made. Gorges and his friends from the West of England were to choose a place for a colony somewhere in the northern part of the territory, while the London merchants and gentlemen who had listened to Gosnold's persuasion were to confine themselves to the south.

The instructions for the colonists.

It was necessary to devise some form of government for the two colonies. The rock upon which all former attempts had split was the difficulty of inducing the spirited adventurers who took part in them to submit to control. The crews of the vessels which had been sent out had been too often bent merely upon making their fortunes. The chance of capturing a Spanish prize had frequently lured them away from the object for which they were despatched, and had ruined the best concerted undertakings. Many of the emigrants carried with them the idea that in America gold lay upon the ground in lumps; and when they discovered, by b rrible

hardships which awaited them amid hostile tribes on an uncultivated shore, their hearts too often gave way at once, and they could think of nothing but of the easiest way of return.

The Southern Colony.

On December 19, 1606, the little company which was destined to succeed where so many had failed, sailed from the Thames in three small vessels. They were in all a hundred and five. The vessels were commanded by a Captain Newport. It was arranged that the names of the colonial council should be kept secret until the arrival of the expedition in America. This precaution had probably been taken to prevent any collision between Newport and the colonial authorities. It was, however, attended with unforeseen results. The chief persons who had engaged in the undertaking were jealous of the abilities of Smith, and absurd rumors were spread among them that he intended to make himself King of Virginia. They, therefore, resolved upon anticipating his supposed design by placing him in confinement; and they conducted across the Atlantic as a prisoner the man to whom the whole conduct of the enterprise ought to have been confided.

Arrival in the Chesapeake, 1607.

After a tedious voyage, the expedition arrived at the mouth of the Chesapeake. They gave to the headlands between which they sailed the names of Cape Henry and Cape Charl[illegible] nor of the two English princes.

As soon as they had landed, they opened their instructions, and found that seven of their number had been appointed to form the council, and that both Smith and Gosnold were included in the number. After some hesitation, they selected a site upon a stream to which they gave the name of the James River, upon which they proceeded to build the town which is known as Jamestown to this day. The first act of the council was to nominate Wingfield, one of the earlier promoters of the expedition, to the presidency, and to expel Smith from their body. It was not till some weeks had passed that they were persuaded to allow him to take his seat.

Troubles begin.

In June, Newport returned to England with the vessels. As soon as he had left Virginia the troubles of the colonists began. They had arrived too late in the season to allow them to sow the seed which they had brought with them with any hope of obtaining a crop. The food which was left behind for their support was bad in quality, and the hot weather brought disease with it. Nearly fifty of their number were gentlemen, who had never been accustomed to manual labor. Half of the little company were swept away before the beginning of September. Among those who perished was Gosnold, whose energetic disposition might, perhaps, if he had survived, have done good service to the colony.

Difficulties of the settlers.

To make matters worse, the president was in-

efficient and selfish, and cared little about the welfare of his comrades, if he only had food enough for himself. The council deposed him; but his successor, Radcliffe, was equally incompetent, and it was only by the unexpected kindness of the natives that the colonists were enabled to maintain their existence. As the winter approached, their stock was increased by large numbers of wild fowl which came within their reach. In spite, however, of this change in their circumstances, it was only at Smith's earnest entreaty that they were prevented from abandoning the colony and returning to England.

Smith taken prisoner by the Indians.

During the winter, Smith employed himself in exploring the country. In one of his expeditions he was taken prisoner by the Indians. Any other man would have been instantly massacred. With great presence of mind, he took a compass out of his pocket, and began talking to them about its wonders. Upon this, the chief forbade them to do him any harm, and ordered him to be carried to their village.

While he was there he still more astonished his captors by sending a party of them with a letter to Jamestown. They were unable to comprehend how his wishes could be conveyed by means of a piece of paper. At last he was conducted before Powhatan, the superior chief over all the tribes of that part of the country. After a long consultation, it was

determined to put him to death. He was dragged forward, and his head was laid upon a large stone, upon which the Indians were preparing to beat out his brains with their clubs. Even then his good fortune did not desert him. The chief's daughter, Pocahontas, a young girl of ten or twelve years of age, rushed forward, and, taking him in her arms, laid her head upon his, to shield it from the clubs. The chief gave way before the entreaties of his daughter, and allowed him full liberty to return to Jamestown.

He is set at liberty.

On his arrival there he found all things in confusion. The president had again formed the intention of abandoning the colony, and was only deterred once more by the energetic exertions of Smith. The colonists were also indebted to him for the liberal supplies of provisions which were from time to time brought to them by Pocahontas.

He had not been long at liberty, when Newport arrived with a fresh supply of provisions. He also brought with him about a hundred and twenty men, the greater part of whom were bent upon digging for gold. Smith applied himself to the more profitable undertaking of carrying his explorations over the whole of the surrounding country. The gold-diggers did not add anything to the stock of the community; and it was only by the arrival of another ship that the colonists were enabled during the summer of 1608 to avoid

Newport's return, 1608.

absolute starvation. Some little corn had, however, been sown in the spring, and it was hoped that, with the help of what they could obtain from the natives, there would be sufficient provision for the winter.

Shortly after Newport had again left the colony, Smith returned from one of his exploring expeditions. He found the whole colony dissatisfied with the conduct of the incapable president, who, with the exception of Smith, was the only member of the original council still remaining in Virginia. A third member had, however, been sent out from England. This man, whose name was Scrivener, had attached himself warmly to Smith, and, to the general satisfaction of the settlers, the two friends deposed Ratcliffe, and appointed Smith to fill his place.

Smith elected president.

Smith had not long been president when Newport again arrived. The members of the company in England were anxious to see a return for the capital which they had expended. They pressed Smith to send them gold, and threatened to leave the colony to starve, if their wishes were not complied with. The only conditions on which he was to be excused were the discovery of a passage into the Pacific, or of the lost colony which had been founded by Raleigh. They sent him seventy more men, of whom, as usual, the greater number were gentlemen. They expected him to send them home, in return,

Newport brings more settlers.

pitch, tar, soap-ashes, and glass. To assist him in this, they put on board eight Poles and Dutchmen, who were skilled in such manufactures.

He at once wrote home to the treasurer of the company, Sir Thomas Smith, explaining to him the absurdity of these demands. The colonists, he told him, must be able to feed themselves before they could establish manufactures. If any more men were sent out, "but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees" and "roots," would be better "than a thousand of such" as had lately arrived.

Smith's successful rule.

Under Smith's rule the settlement passed safely through another winter. The Indians were compelled to respect the rising colony. The greater part of the gentlemen were induced to work heartily, and those who refused were plainly told that if they would not do the work they would be left to starve. It appeared as if, at last, the worst difficulties had been overcome.

The new charter, 1609

The summer of 1609 was drawing to a close, when news arrived in Virginia that a fresh charter had been granted, by which considerable changes were authorized in the government of the colony. The working of the original arrangements had been, in many respects, unsatisfactory. The council at home, which had been enlarged in 1607, had found but lit-

tle to do, as all practical business connected with the support of the colony was in the hands of the company. The company itself had proved but ill-fitted to devise the best measures for a quick return for the money which they had laid out, and had been too eager to press the colonists to engage in trade before they had brought under cultivation a sufficient quantity of land for their own support.

The company ill-fitted to devise good measures.

Undoubtedly the best thing which the new council could have done would have been to have placed Smith at the head of the settlement. But, being ignorant of his true value, they took the next best step in their power. The government of merchants and captains had proved only another name for organized disorder. They, therefore, determined to try the experiment of sending out persons whose rank had made them accustomed to command, and who, if they were under the disadvantage of being new to colonial life, might be supposed to be able to obtain respect from the factions by which the colony was distracted. It was also plain that the settlement must be regarded, at least for the present, as a garrison in a hostile country, and that the new government must be empowered to exercise military discipline. The selections were undoubtedly good. Lord de la Warr, an able and conscientious man, was to preside, under the name of General; Sir Thomas Gates, one

Appointment of Lord de la Warr as Governor.

of the oldest promoters of the undertaking, was to act as his Lieutenant; Sir George Somers was to command the vessels of the company as Admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, an old soldier from the Low Country wars, was to keep up discipline as Marshal; while Sir Ferdinando Wainman was invested with the rather unnecessary title of General of the Horse. Lord de la Warr was to be preceded by Gates, Somers, and Newport, who were jointly to administer the government till the appearance of the General himself.

The whole scheme was well contrived, and if it had been carried out according to the intentions of the council all would have gone well. In May, nine ships sailed with five hundred fresh men to recruit the colony, and with large stores of provisions. Unfortunately, the ship which contained the three commissioners was wrecked on the Bermudas, and the remaining vessels, with the exception of one which perished at sea, arrived in the Chesapeake with the information that Smith's authority was at an end, but without bringing any new officers to fill his place. To make matters worse, the men who arrived were chiefly a loose and disorderly mob, who had been chosen without any special regard for the requirements of an emigrant's life, and with them were several of Smith's old opponents, previously returned to England.

Shipwreck of the Commissioners

Smith, seeing that no lawful authority had

come to replace his own, determined to maintain himself in his post. The new-comers raised unlooked-for difficulties. They not only showed great disinclination to submit to his orders, but they set at naught all the ordinary rules of prudence in their intercourse with the natives. The Indians came to Smith with complaints that his men were stealing their corn and robbing their gardens. He was doing his best to introduce order again among these miserable men, when an accident deprived the colony of his services. Some gunpowder in a boat, in which he was, accidentally took fire, and the wounds which he received made it impossible for him to fulfil the active duties of his office. He accordingly determined to return to England, leaving the unruly crowd of settlers to discover, by a bitter experience, the value of his energy and prudence. They were not long in learning the extent of their capacity for self-government. They utterly refused to submit to Percy, who had been elected by the council as Smith's successor. As soon as the natives heard that Smith was gone, they attacked the settlement and met with but little resistance. The settlers themselves wasted the provisions which should have served for their subsistence during the winter. There was no recognized authority, and every man followed his own inclination. When Smith sailed for England the colony consisted of four hundred and ninety men.

Smith's difficulties.

Smith returns to England.

Wretched state of the colony.

Within six months a miserable remnant of sixty persons was supporting itself upon roots and berries.

In this extremity, Gates arrived, having contrived to escape in a pinnace from the Bermudas. On May 23, 1610, he landed at Jamestown. He had expected to find a flourishing colony, where he could obtain support for the hundred and fifty shipwrecked settlers who accompanied him. He found famine staring him in the face. The corn which had been sown would not be ready for harvest for months, and the Indians refused to bargain with their oppressors. When he had landed all his little store, he found that there would only be enough to support life for sixteen days.

Arrival of Gates, 1610.

Famine is imminent.

It was, therefore, determined, by common consent, to forsake the country, as the only means to avoid starvation, and to make for Newfoundland, where the fugitives hoped to obtain a passage to England in the vessels which were engaged in fishing.

On June 7, the remnants of the once prosperous colony quitted the spot which had been for three years the centre of their hopes, and dropped down the river. Before, however, they had got out of the Chesapeake, they were astonished by the sight of a boat coming up to meet them. The boat proved to belong to Lord de la Warr's squadron, which had arrived from England in time to save the settlement from ruin.

Arrival of Lord de la Warr.

The arrival of Lord de la Warr was the turning point in the early history of Virginia. He brought provisions upon which the settlers could subsist for a year, and by his authority he was able to curb the violence of the factions which had been with difficulty kept down even by the strong hand of Smith. Peace was restored with the Indians, and the colonists willingly obeyed the Governor's directions.

Sir Thomas Dale's administration.

He had not been long in Virginia before ill health compelled him to return. After a short interval he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale. Dale introduced a code of martial law. This code was unjustifiably severe, but even that was better than the anarchy which threatened to break out again on Lord de la Warr's departure. A still more advantageous change was brought about under his government. Hitherto the land had been cultivated for the good of the whole colony, and it had been found difficult to make men work heartily who had no individual interest in their labors. Dale assigned three acres of land to each settler. The immediate results of this innovation were manifest. The improvement was still more decided when Gates, who had been sent back to England, returned as Governor, in August, 1611, with considerable supplies, of which the most valuable part consisted of large numbers of cattle. From that time the difficulties which had impeded the formation of the settlement were heard of no more.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

(A.D. 1605)

CHARLES KNIGHT

IN the last week of October, 1605, the King was contemplating "his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the Parliament time, which had been twice prorogued already." While James was at his favorite sports, hunting according to a more discreet fashion than that of the old Norman kings, his "little beagle," for so he called Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, was diligently carrying forward the business of the State. Salisbury was at his post at Whitehall on the night of the 26th of October, when his wonted meditations upon the difficulty of providing money for his extravagant master and his rapacious followers, were disturbed by the demand for an audience of a Catholic peer, Lord Mounteagle.

Lord Mount-eagle visits Salisbury.

A strange incident had occurred on that night of the 26th of October, when Mounteagle broke in upon the quiet Secretary of State. The Catholic peer had a house at

Hoxton, from which he had been absent a month, when he suddenly arrived that evening to supper. Very opportune was the return, as we learn from the official *Discourse:* "Being in his own lodging ready to go to supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his footmen, whom he had sent of an errand over the street, was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands; which my lord no sooner received, but that, having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or superscription, did call one of his men unto him, for helping him to read it." It appears from another account that the letter was read aloud, of course in the presence of the lord's attendants. It was as follows: Happenings at Hoxton.

"My lord out of the love i beare to some of youer frendz i have a caer of youer preservacion therefor i would advyse yowe as yowe tender youer lyf to devyse some exscuse to shift of your attendance at this parleament for god and man hathe concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme and thinke not slightlye of this advertisment but retyere youre selfe into youre contri wheare yowe mayce expect the event in safti for thowghe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a terrible blowe this parlea- The letter.

ment and yet they shall not seie who hurts them this councel is not to be contemned because it maye do yowe good and can do yowe no harme for the dangere is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter and i hope god will give yowe the grace to mak good use of it to whose holy proteccion i comend yowe." The letter is addressed "To the right honorable the lord Mowteagle."

Who wrote it?

There have been many conjectures as to the writer of this extraordinary letter. One probable guess is that Francis Tresham, the brother-in-law of Mounteagle, gave him this warning to save his own life, though in such obscure terms as should not lead to discovery of the conspiracy in which Tresham and others of Mounteagle's friends were engaged. Greenway, the Jesuit, whose relation of the plot, although written to exculpate himself and others, contains many curious details, gives in his manuscript what seems "to have been the opinion of the conspirators themselves. They attributed it to Tresham, and suspected a secret understanding between him and Lord Mounteagle, or at least the gentleman who was employed to read the letter at table. They were convinced that Tresham had no sooner given his consent than he repented of it, and sought to break up the plot without betraying his associates."

The administrative ability of Salisbury is

shown by the wariness with which he conducted his operations, from the moment that Mounteagle came to him from Hoxton on that dark October night. Whether his suspicion was first raised, or whether he had a previous knowledge, his course was unaltered. He made no fuss; he quietly communicated the letter to others of the Council; he suffered James to go on with his hunting exercise; and when the King came to London, the Secretary, having had the ominous letter six days in his possession, presented it to the King, no other person being present. The official *Discourse* claims for the King the right interpretation of the riddle, "For the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt the letter." If the danger was past so soon as the letter was burnt, argued Salisbury, what was the use of the warning? But the King read the mysterious sentence thus: the danger is to be sudden and quick—the terrible hurts, of which the authors should be unseen, "should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be a blazing up in the fire." Thence, held the King, according to the *Discourse*, it should be "by blowing up of powder." It was "a divine illumination of the royal mind," said Coke on the trial of the conspirators. Salisbury, according to his own statement, had suggested the same interpretation to several of the Council, before the King knew anything of the matter. But Salisbury was

Salisbury's ability.

The King's interpretation.

too politic not to let the vanity of his master expatiate to his Parliament upon his claim to the discovery. It was set forth in the *Discourse* how all inquiry had been postponed by the Council, "for the expectation and experience they had of his Majesty's fortunate judgment, in clearing and solving obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries." The Secretary completely threw the conspirators off their guard, even when they knew that the letter to Mounteagle was in the hands of the vigilant minister. They had conferred upon their danger; but the absence of every indication of alarm or suspicion on the part of the government made them despise the advice which Winter had received from his friend in Mounteagle's household.

The conspirators outwitted.

On Monday, the 4th of November, the Lord Chamberlain, whose duty it was to make arrangements for the meeting of Parliament, went to the House of Lords; and afterward entered the vaults under the Parliament-chamber. Lord Mounteagle was of the party. They observed a large store of coals and wood in a cellar; and standing carelessly there they saw "a very tall and desperate fellow." The Lord Chamberlain asked who the fuel belonged to: and the man answered that they belonged to his master, Mr. Percy, who had rented the cellar for a year and a half. There were no more questions. But there was a general examination, by the direction of a West-

Searching the vaults.

minster magistrate, of neighboring houses and cellars, under a pretence of looking for some missing property belonging to the royal wardrobe. The "tall and desperate fellow" was not yet frightened from his purpose. A little before midnight on the eve of the 5th of November, the same magistrate, with a strong body of attendants, repaired to the cellar under the Parliament House. A man just stepping out of the door was seized and searched. Slow matches and touchwood were found upon him; and a lantern, with a light within its dark covering, was in the cellar. The heaps of billets were quickly removed, and beneath them were thirty-six barrels of gunpowder.

Capture of Fawkes.

It is one o'clock in the morning. The prisoner is led to Whitehall. A Council is hastily assembled in the King's bed-chamber. The resolute man is beset with hurried interrogatories by King and peers. His name, he says, is John Johnson; he is a servant of Thomas Percy; if he had not been apprehended that night, he had blown up the Parliament House, when the King, peers, bishops, and others had been assembled. "Why would you have killed me?" asks the King. "Because you are excommunicated by the Pope," is the reply. "How so?" said James. "Every Maundy Thursday the Pope doth excommunicate all heretics, who are not of the Church of Rome," is the explanation. He is asked who were privy to the conspiracy, and answers, "He

could not resolve to accuse any." The night was passed in the examination of the prisoner; but nothing could be obtained from him that could commit his accomplices. In the morning he was taken to the Tower.

London's anxiety.

That morning of the 5th of November was a time of deep anxiety in London. The news of a conspiracy so daring in its objects, so mysterious in its origin, so terrible in its remorseless fanaticism, filled all classes with alarm. It was scarcely possible to exaggerate the consequences of a plot which threatened to involve the whole machinery of government in one indiscriminate destruction. Two of the conspirators had left London on the 4th. Two others fled the instant they knew that the pretended servant of Percy was seized. Two more lingered till the morning. Five of these joined company on their road to Ashby St. Legers, in Northamptonshire, all riding with extraordinary speed, having relays of horses. It had been arranged that a general rendezvous should take place at Dunchurch, on the 5th of November, after the great act of vengeance should have been accomplished in London. Toward that place various bodies of Roman Catholics were moving on the appointed day; some being cognizant of a design against the government, but few having been intrusted with the secrets of the l[illegible] party was collected on the 5th [illegible] by, at

Ashby St. Legers. They were at supper when the five who had fled from London rushed in, covered with the mire of the wintry roads, exhausted, hopeless. They had little to think of now but self-defence. Taking with them all the arms they could collect, they rode off to Dunchurch. Here they found a large assembly, with Sir Everard Digby at their head, carousing, and anxiously expecting some joyful intelligence of the triumphs of their party, which they had been led to anticipate by vague hints of a coming time when heresy should no longer sit in high places. The ill-concealed fears, the pale looks, the secret whisperings of the friends who had ridden so hard to join them, told another tale. The instinct with which those who, with a half-confidence, are to be made the instruments of conspiracy, fly from their leaders at the first approach of detection, was now in full operation. Those who came with numerous retainers to the great chase on Dunmore heath, which was to be a gathering for more important objects than the hunting of the deer, gradually slunk away. On that night the chief conspirators were left alone. Let us now see who were the principal actors in this perilous enterprise; and how they had been occupied for many months before the fatal fifth of November.

The rendezvous at Dunchurch.

Dispersal of the conspirators.

Robert Catesby, the only son of Sir William Catesby, who in the time of Elizabeth

mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same." The object for which the oath was taken was then disclosed by Catesby to Percy, and by Winter and Wright to Fawkes. In the State Paper Office there is an agreement between Thomas Percy and Henry Ferrers, for the hire of a house next the Parliament house. It is dated May 24, 1604;—and is indorsed by Salisbury. "The bargain between Ferrers and Percy for the bloody cellar, found in Winter's lodging." Eighteen months were these five men carrying their terrible secret close in their bosoms; imparting it to very few others; never doubting their own unaided power to produce a revolution by one stunning blow; and, from the very nature of the means they employed, exposed to detection at every step. "The bloody cellar" was not under the Parliament chamber. They saw no chance of preparing a mine beneath that chamber, but by breaking through the massive foundation wall of the House of Lords. Fawkes received the keys of the house next the Parliament house; and they were ready for their work previous to the expected meeting of Parliament. But the Parliament was again prorogued to February, 1605; so they departed to the country for a while. They then took another house at Lambeth, "where," says Winter, "we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being there made ready, should in a night be con-

Parliament prorogued.

veyed by boat to the house by the Parliament, because we were loth to foil that with often going in and out." At the beginning of Michaelmas term, 1604, Fawkes and Winter conferred with Catesby in the country, and they agreed "that now was the time to begin and set things in order for the mine." Percy's house was wanted for a meeting of the Commissioners for the Scotch Union. It was an official house; and Percy, its temporary tenant, was obliged to defer his unsuspected proceedings. Percy held the office of a Gentleman-Pensioner, which may account for the absence of all suspicion as to his objects. The conferences of the commissioners were ended a fortnight before Christmas; and then other labors were commenced in right earnest within those walls. Percy and Wright now joined Catesby, Winter, and Fawkes; "and we," says Winter, "against their coming, had provided a good part of the powder; so as we all five entered with tools fit to begin our work, having provided ourselves with baked meats, the less to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night." They had to get through a stone wall three yards in thickness. Their labor was far beyond what they had expected; and they sent to Lambeth for Keyes, and obtained the adhesion to their plot of Christopher Wright, the brother of John. Fawkes, with the boldness which characterized him, vindicated himself and his associates from the

The great toil undertaken.

belief that they were men of low birth and mean employments, to whom such toil was habitual; but that they were "gentlemen of name and blood." In his examination of the 8th of November, he says, "not any was employed in or about this action, no, not so much as in digging or mining, that was not a gentleman. And while the others wrought, I stood a sentinel to descry any man that came near; and when any man came near to the place, upon warning given by me, they ceased until they had again notice from me to proceed. All we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder; being resolved to die in that place before we should yield or be taken." Father Greenway expresses his surprise that men delicately nurtured should, in a short space of time, have accomplished far more rough work than men who had been bred to laborious occupation would have accomplished. They were enthusiasts. They had little sense of fatigue, in the confidence that they were engaged in a holy work to which they were called by the immediate voice of heaven. As they worked, they beguiled the time by discoursing about what should be their first proceeding when they had accomplished the sweeping destruction of all the estates of the realm. They were to carry off Prince Charles, and his sister Elizabeth, Prince Henry having perished with the King. They were then to proclaim the heir-apparent, and

Gentlemen only employed.

Plans of the plotters.

appoint a Protector of the kingdom, during the minority of the sovereign. They were to ask help of foreign princes, when "the business was acted." What next they were to do with a state so "out of joint" was not manifest. They were sometimes beset with superstitious fears. They heard a sound from the middle of the wall, as of a tinkling bell. It was an unearthly sound, and was heard no more when holy water had been sprinkled again and again. They did not resume their labors till February, 1605, having learned that Parliament was to be again prorogued. But now their plan of operations was changed. They had "wrought also another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to beat through," when they heard a rushing noise above their heads. Fawkes, always foremost in any danger, went to ascertain the cause, in his usual disguise of a porter's frock. He found that above the spot where they had been mining was a cellar in the occupation of a coal-dealer, and that he was moving his coals, being about to give up possession. That cellar was immediately under the Parliament chamber. They seized upon the opportunity. The cellar was hired, and was quickly filled with barrels of gunpowder, covered over with fagots and billets. In May all their stores were carried in, and, locking the cellar, they departed from London. Fawkes went to Flanders to see if any

Superstitious fears.

Fawkes's daring.

New recruits.

foreign plotting looked promising. Catesby employed the summer in raising a troop of horse, for service in Flanders, as a part of an English regiment levied by the Spanish ambassador. This troop was officered by Catesby's immediate friends. The conspiracy widened by the introduction to its secrets of Sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham. Tresham and Catesby were cousins. Tresham had taken a prominent part in the Essex conspiracy; and he very narrowly escaped arraignment and execution.

We now resume our narrative from the point at which we left the bewildered conspirators at Dunchurch, after the seizure of Fawkes. The timid adherents to some vague plan of revolt having departed, and left the bolder spirits to their own resolves, these daring confederates determined at once to march with their armed retainers, in the hope to excite a general insurrection of Roman Catholics in the midland counties, and in Wales. They

The conspirators in arms.

set out from Dunchurch at ten o'clock on that same night of the 5th, having despatched a letter to the Jesuit Garnet, who was in the neighborhood with Sir Everard Digby's family. They marched through Warwick, where they helped themselves to horses, on to Alcester; and, having seized some armor at Lord Windsor's, on Wednesday night they had reached Holbeach, the house of Stephen Littleton, one of their friends. Their numbers

were gradually diminished by desertion. Not one man joined them. The Roman Catholic party saw that the odious enterprise would long retard any hope of toleration from the government. The conspirators were pursued by the sheriff of Worcestershire with his *posse comitatus*. Digby fled from them at Holbeach, and was seized at Dudley; for the hue and cry had gone through the country. Those who remained at Holbeach prepared to defend the house against assault. An accidental circumstance filled them with terrible forebodings—a circumstance which Coke cleverly alluded to, upon the trial of Fawkes and others, as an exemplification of the principle that there is no law more just than that the wicked should perish by their own acts:—"Observe," he said, "a miraculous accident which befell in Stephen Littleton's house, called Holbeach, in Staffordshire, after these traitors had been two days in open rebellion, immediately before their apprehension; for some of them standing by the fireside, and having set two pounds and a half of powder to dry in a platter before the fire, and underset the said platter with a great linen bag full of other powder, containing some fifteen or sixteen pounds, it so fell out, that one coming to put more wood into the fire, and casting it on, there flew a coal into the platter, by reason whereof the powder taking fire and blowing up, scorched those who were nearest, as Catesby, Grant, and

Desertions.

A miraculous accident.

Rookwood, and blew up the roof of the house; and the linen bag, which was set under the platter, being therewith suddenly carried out through the breach, fell down in the court-yard whole and unfired, which, if it had taken fire in the room, would have slain them all there, so that they never should have come to this trial." This explosion of gunpowder was regarded even by the boldest of these men as a token that God was against them. But the next day when the sheriff arrived and summoned them to surrender, the few who remained determined upon resistance. Thomas Winter was not present when the gunpowder exploded. Stephen Littleton then fled, having asked Winter to fly with him; but Winter, who supposed that Catesby was killed by the accident, said he would see the body of his friend, and bury him before he left. Winter tells the remainder of the story with expressive brevity: "When I came I found Mr. Catesby reasonable well, Mr. Percy, both the Wrights, Mr. Rookwood, and Mr. Grant. I asked them 'what they resolved to do.' They answered 'We mean here to die.' I said again, 'I would take such part as they did.' About eleven of the clock came the company to beset the house, and, as I walked into the court, I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm; the next shot was the elder Wright struck dead; after him the younger Mr. Wright; and fourthly, Ambrose Rookwood. Then said Mr.

Determination to resist.

Catesby to me (standing before the door they were to enter), 'Stand by me, Tom, and we will die together.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken.' So, as we stood close together, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, and myself, they two were shot, as far as I could guess, with one bullet, and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind, and caught hold of my both arms."

Capture of Winter.

Previous to the trial of the principal conspirators who remained alive, there had been twenty-three days occupied in various examinations; during which the general progress of the conspiracy had been slowly extracted from the confessions of the prisoners. Tresham, who is supposed to have been instrumental in discovering the plot to the government, was not arrested till the 12th of November, although Fawkes had distinctly mentioned him as one concerned. He died in the Tower before the trial. In postponing the trial, it was the great object of the government to obtain evidence that would inculpate the Jesuit missionaries. All the conspirators, with the exception of Thomas Bates, a servant of Catesby, persisted in denying the privity of the Jesuits to the enterprise. The alarm which was felt at the revelation of a treason which contemplated such awful consequences was universal; and thus we may understand how Ben Jon-

Tresham dies in the Tower.

son, a person who, although a writer of masks for the court, was of a sturdy and independent character, appears to have lent himself to the government, in what we may regard as the odious function of a spy. We take the poet's case to be an illustration of a very general tone of feeling among the moderate Papists; who, whatever might be their grievances, did not see their way to redress in casting aside all love of country, and all regard for religion, by being neutral and indifferent at a time when such a fearful mystery was suddenly brought to light.

Feelings of the Roman Catholics.

THE DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF MANHATTAN ISLAND

(A.D. 1609—1628)

DAVID T. VALENTINE

AFTER the discovery of the Western Continent by Christopher Columbus, the attention of Europe seemed to be turned toward the southern part of the new world, where the gold was found emblazoning the garments of the aboriginal inhabitants, holding a glittering temptation to the enterprise of adventurous spirits. Thus the cold regions of the north lay unvisited for more than a hundred years by any other than passing vessels, sailing along the coast, and making formal discoveries of its shores, to be mapped as the property of their royal employers.

Interest in the southern regions.

One of these vessels of discovery, commanded by Verrezano, in the service of the French, is believed to have entered the south bay of New York in the year 1525, and this may have had a distant glimpse of the island which is the subject of our history; but by some it is doubted if Verrezano's description

Verrezano.

of the harbor, which is not very explicit, is applicable to the bay of New York.

The *Half Moon* and its crew.

The first discovery has been generally ascribed to Henry Hudson, an Englishman by birth, who, in the year 1609, being then in the service of the Dutch, sailed westward from the shores of Europe, in search of a northwest passage to the East Indies. The vessel commanded by Hudson was a small yacht, called the *Half Moon,* manned by from sixteen to twenty men, partly of Dutch and partly of English birth. This vessel was not over eighty tons burden, being designed for coasting. After traversing the American coasts, between Newfoundland and the Chesapeake Bay, he turned his course northward again, designing to explore, leisurely, the extent of the country thus passed by. On the 1st of September, 1609, he discovered the Highlands of Neversink, described by him as a "very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see." The next day he rounded Sandy Hook, and the second day following he anchored under the Jersey shore in the south bay.

The Indians.

The Indians, flocking to the shore in great numbers, appear at once to have understood the designs of their visitors, for, whether by tradition or rumor from other lands, they seem to have been acquainted with the articles of trade most in use between the whites and the Indians, and were apt at driving a

bargain. They offered tobacco and other products in exchange for knives and beads. Their disposition seemed friendly, and the women presented such articles of food as they had prepared in that season.

Hudson sends out an exploring party.

On the 6th of September, a boat's crew, despatched by Hudson to explore the coast further inland, entered the Narrows and came in sight of Manhattan Island. They described the land encircling the bay as covered with trees, grass and flowers, and the air as filled with delightful fragrance. The return of this small party was unfortunate, as, for some unexplained reason, the boat was attacked by two canoes filled with Indians, and one of the crew, named John Coleman, was killed by an arrow piercing his throat. It seems probable from the course taken by Hudson, after this disaster, that the assault by the natives was not without provocation, as friendly intercourse was still kept up between the parties.

Hudson sails up the river.

On the 11th of September, Hudson weighed and sailed up through the Narrows. Having anchored in New York Harbor, he was visited by the neighboring Indians, who made great show of love, giving presents of tobacco and Indian corn. He remained at anchor but one day, and, on the 12th of September, took his course up the river, which has since borne his name. In his exploration to the head of navigation, near the present site of

Albany, he was engaged about three weeks, and finally put to sea on the 4th of October, making directly for Holland with news of his discovery of this fine river and its adjacent country, which he described as offering every inducement for settlers or traders that could be desired.

Besides the fertility of the soil, which was satisfactorily shown by the great abundance of grain and vegetables found in the possession of the Indians, a still more enticing prospect was held out to the view of the merchant, in the abundance of valuable furs observed in the country, which were to be had at a very little cost. Hudson had, therefore, scarcely made publicly known the character of the country visited by him, when several merchants of Amsterdam fitted out trading vessels and despatched them to this river. Their returns were highly satisfactory, and arrangements were immediately made to establish a settled agency here to superintend the collection of the furs and the trade with the Indians while the ships should be on their long journey between the two hemispheres. The agents thus employed pitched their cabins on the south point of Manhattan Island, the head man being Hendrick Corstiaensen, who was still the chief of the settlement in 1613, at which period an English ship, sailing along the coast from Virginia, entered the harbor on a visit of observation. Finding Corstiaen-

Abundance of furs.

A trading-post established.

sen here, with his company of traders, the English captain summoned him to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Virginia over the country or else to depart. The former alternative was chosen by the trader, and he agreed to pay a small tribute to the Governor of Virginia in token of his right of dominion. The Dutch were thereupon left to prosecute their trade without further molestation.

The Government of Holland did not, however, recognize the claims of England to jurisdiction over the whole American coast, and took measures to encourage the discovery and appropriation of additional territory by a decree giving to any discoverers of new countries the exclusive privilege of trading thither for four successive voyages, to the exclusion of all other persons. This enactment induced several merchants to fit out five small ships for coasting along the American shores in this vicinity. One of these vessels, commanded by Captain Block, soon after its arrival on the coast, was accidentally destroyed by fire. Block immediately began the construction of another, of thirty-eight feet keel, forty-four and a half feet on deck, and eleven and a half feet beam, which was the first vessel launched in the waters of New York. She was called the *Unrest* or *Restless,* and plowed her keel through the waters of Hell Gate and the Sound, the pioneer of all other vessels, except the bark canoes of the aboriginal inhabitants.

The first vessel built in New York.

The several ships despatched on this exploring expedition having returned to Holland, from their journals and surveys a map of a large extent of country was made, over which the Dutch claimed jurisdiction, and to which they gave the name of New Netherland. The owners of these vessels, as the reward of their enterprise, were granted the promised monoply of trade thither for four voyages to be completed within three years, commencing on the 1st of January, 1615.

The New Netherland.

These merchants seem to have been composed in part of those who had established the first trading-post here, but having increased their number and capital, and enlarged their former designs of trade, formed themselves into a company under the name of the "United New Netherland Company." Corstiaensen was continued the principal agent here, and they likewise established a post at the head of the river, on an island opposite the present site of Albany. Forts of a rude description (being merely inclosures of high palisades) were erected at both places.

The United New Netherland Company.

The privileges granted to the "United New Netherland Company" being, however, limited in respect to time, their establishment on this island can hardly be considered as a permanent settlement; the cabins of the settlers were nearly of equal rudeness with those of their Indian neighbors; and but few of the luxuries of civilization found their way into

The first settlement.

their habitations. The great object of the settlement was, however, successfully carried on, and stores of furs were in readiness to freight the ships on their periodical visits from the fatherland. No interruption of the friendly intercourse carried on with the Indians took place, but, on the contrary, the whites were abundantly supplied by the natives with food and most other necessaries of life, without personal labor and at trifling cost.

The Indian tribes in the neighborhood of this trading-post were the Manhattans, occupying this island; the Pachamies, the Tankiteks and the Wickqueskeeks, occupying the country on the east side of the Hudson River, south of the Highlands; the Hackingsacks and the Raritans, on the west side of the river and the Jersey shore; the Canarsees, the Rockways, the Merrikokes, the Marsapeagues, the Mattinecocks, the Nissaquages, the Corchaugs, the Secataugs and the Shinecocks, on Long Island. The Indian tribes.

The trade of this colony of settlers was sufficiently profitable to render its permanency desirable to the United New Netherland Company, as it is found that at the termination of their grant, in the year 1618, they endeavored to procure from the Government in Holland an extension of their term, but did not succeed in obtaining more than a special license, expiring yearly, which they held for two or three subsequent years. Trade of the colony.

In the meantime, a more extensive association had been formed among the merchants and capitalists in Holland, which in the year 1621, having matured its plans and projects, received a charter under the title of the "West India Company." Their charter gave them the exclusive privilege of trade on the whole American coast, both of the northern and southern continents, so far as the jurisdiction of Holland extended. This great company was invested with most of the functions of a distinct and separate government. They were allowed to appoint governors and other officers; to settle the forms of administering justice; to make Indian treaties and to enact laws.

The West India Company.

Having completed their arrangements for the organization of their government in New Netherland, the West India Company despatched their pioneer vessel hither in the year 1623. This was the ship *New Netherland,* a staunch vessel, which continued her voyages to this port, as a regular packet, for more than thirty years subsequently. On board the *New Netherland* were thirty families to begin the colony—this colony being designed for a settlement at the head of the river, the vessel landed her passengers and freight near the present site of Albany, where a settlement was established. The return cargo of the *New Netherland* was five hundred otter skins, one thousand five hundred beavers, and other

Settlement at Albany.

freight, valued at about twelve thousand dollars.

Headquarters established on Manhattan Island.

It having been determined that the headquarters of the company's establishment in New Netherland should be fixed on Manhattan Island, preparations for a more extensive colony to be planted here were made, and, in 1625, two ships cleared from Holland for this place. On board these vessels were shipped one hundred and three head of cattle, together with stallions, mares, hogs and sheep in a proportionate number. Accompanying these were a considerable number of settlers, with their families, supplied with agricultural implements and seed for planting; household furniture, and the other necessaries for establishing the colony. Other ships followed with similar freight, and the number of emigrants amounted to about two hundred souls.

Fresh colonists arrive, 1625.

On the arrival of the ships in the harbor, the cattle were landed, in the first instance, on the island now called Governor's Island, where they were left on pasturage until convenient arrangements could be made on the mainland to prevent their straying in the woods. The want of water, however, compelled their speedy transfer to Manhattan Island, where, being put on the fresh grass, they generally throve well, although about twenty died, in the course of the season, from eating some poisonous vegetable.

The settlers commenced their town by stak-

ing out a fort on the south point of the island, under the direction of one Kryn Frederick, an engineer sent along with them for that purpose; and a horse-mill having been erected, the second story of that building was so constructed as to afford accommodation for the congregation for religious purposes. The habitations of the settlers were of the simplest construction, little better, indeed, than those of their predecessors. A director-general had been sent to superintend the interests of the company, in the person of Peter Minuit, who, in the year 1626, purchased Manhattan Island from the Indian proprietors for the sum of sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars, by which the title to the whole island, containing about twenty-two thousand acres, became vested in the West India Company.

Peter Minuit buys Manhattan Island.

The success of the company proved itself, for a short period, by the rise in the value of their stock, which soon stood at a high premium in Holland. Various interests, however, were at work in the company to turn its advantages to individual account, and, in 1628, an act was passed under the title of "Freedoms and Exemptions granted to all such as shall plant Colonies in New Netherland." This edict gave to such persons as should send over a colony of fifty souls, above fifteen years old, the title of "patroons," and the privilege of selecting any land (except on the island of Manhattan), for a distance of eight miles on

The Patroons.

each side of any river, and so far inland as should be thought convenient, the company stipulating, however, that all the products of the plantations thus established should be first brought to the Manhattans, before being sent elsewhere for trade. They also reserved to themselves the sole trade with the Indians for peltries in all places where they had an agency established.

Emigration encouraged

With respect to such private persons as should emigrate at their own expense, they were allowed as much land as they could properly improve, upon satisfying the Indians therefor.

These privileges gave an impetus to emigration, and assisted, in a great degree, in permanently establishing the settlement of the country.

HUDSON'S LAST VOYAGE

(A.D. 1610)

HESSEL GERRITZ

THE English, stimulated by the happy success of their maritime enterprise, undergo without hesitation the troubles which these expeditions involve; and in spite of the laborious nature of their voyages to the east, to Moscovia, Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, they are still bent on new discoveries. They have chiefly made uninterrupted efforts to find a passage in the west, where they have already occupied Virginia and peopled it with their colonists. This passage they have sought for between Greenland and Nova Francia. Their efforts have as yet been fruitless, and through ice and snow they have in vain fought their way up to 70° or even 80° of northern latitude. The strait which they have thus explored bears the name of its first discoverer, John Davis. The last navigator who went along that way was Captain George Weymouth, who sailed in the year 1602, and who, after a voyage of five hundred leagues, was, like his predecessors, forced by the ice

Courageous English explorers.

to return. But on purpose to draw at least some advantage from his expedition, he directed his course to the bay under 61°, which the English call Lumley's Inlet, and sailed a hundred leagues in a southwesterly direction into it. Having gone so far, he found himself landlocked, and despairing of a passage, he was, by the weakness of his crew and by other causes, forced to return. He, however, first explored two more bays between that country and Baccalaos, and found there the water wide and mighty like an open sea, with very great tides.

Weymouth's discoveries.

This voyage, though far from fulfilling Weymouth's hopes, assisted Hudson very materially in finding his famous strait. George Weymouth's logbooks fell into the hands of the Rev. Peter Plancius, who pays the most diligent attention to such new discoveries, chiefly when they may be of advantage to our own country; and when, in 1609, Hudson was preparing to undertake a voyage for the directors of the East India Company, in search of a passage to China and Cathay by the north of Nova Zembla, he obtained these logbooks from Peter Plancius. Out of them he learned this whole voyage of George Weymouth, through the narrows north of Virginia, till into the great inland sea; and thence he concluded that this road would lead him to India. But Peter Plancius refuted this latter opinion from the accounts of a man who had searched

Hudson gets possession of Weymouth's logbooks.

and explored the western shore of that sea, and had stated that it formed an unbroken line of coast. Hudson, in spite of this advice, sailed westward to try what chance of a passage might be left there, having first gone to Nova Zembla, where he found the sea entirely blocked up by ice and snow. He seems, however, according to the opinion of our countrymen, purposely to have missed the right road to the western passage, unwilling to benefit Holland and the directors of the Dutch East India Company by such a discovery. All he did in the west in 1609 was to exchange his merchandise for furs in New France. He then returned safely to England, where he was accused of having undertaken a voyage to the detriment of his own country. Still anxious to discover a western passage, he again set out in 1610, and directed his course to Davis's Strait. There he entered in latitude 61° the path pointed out by George Weymouth, and explored all the shores laid down in the present chart, up to the height of 63°. He then sailed to the south, down to 54°, where he wintered. When he left his winter quarters he ran along the western shore for forty leagues, and fell in, under 60°, with a wide sea, agitated by mighty tides from the northwest. This circumstance inspired Hudson with great hope of finding a passage, and his officers were quite ready to undertake a further search; but the crew, weary of the

Hudson's voyage of 1609.

Hudson's voyage in 1610.

long voyage, and unwilling to continue it, bethought themselves of the want of victuals, with which they had been provided for eight months only, and to which no additions had been made during the voyage, except one large animal which an Indian brought. This Indian was armed with a Mexican or Japanese *cris* (poniard), from which fact Hudson concluded that a place which possessed Mexican arms and productions could not be far distant from that country. At last the ill-will of the crew prevailed. They exposed Hudson and the other officers in a boat on the open sea, and returned into their country. There they have been thrown into prison for their crime, and will be kept there until their captain shall be safely brought home. For that purpose some ships have been sent out last year (1612) by the late Prince of Wales and by the directors of the Moscovia Company, about the return of which nothing has as yet been heard. We may therefore hope that they have passed beyond that strait, and we do not think that we shall hear anything about them before they return to England from East India or China and Japan, by the same road by which they went out. This, we hope and pray, may come to pass. Nor has the zeal of our fellow citizens of Amsterdam cooled down. They have some months ago sent out a ship to search for a passage or for Hudson's Strait, to try whether any convenient inter-

The crew set Hudson adrift.

Relief expeditions.

course can be established with those places, or, if this should be found impossible, to trade on the coasts of New France.

[In 1610, the Dutch receive permission to trade with Japan; in 1612, the Jesuits found a mission in Canada and the English settle at Surat, near Bombay. The United New Netherland Company is established in Holland in 1612, and has a trading-post on Manhattan Island. Napier invents and explains logarithms (1614), and Briggs constructs tables of them (1617). John Smith explores the coast of Northern Virginia, and publishes a map with description (1614). In 1617, the Dutch found Batavia in Java; a British company gets a charter to trade with West Africa, and establishes forts on the Gold Coast and on the Gambia; the first Colonial Parliament for South Virginia meets at Jamestown, and negro slaves are brought to Virginia.]

The invention of logarithms.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION

(A.D. 1618)

DAVID HUME

AT the time when Sir Walter Raleigh was first confined in the Tower, his violent and haughty temper had rendered him the most unpopular man in England; and his condemnation was chiefly owing to that public odium under which he labored. During the thirteen years' imprisonment which he suffered, the sentiments of the nation were much changed with regard to him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say injustice, of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprising spirit, which languished in the rigors of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, being educated amid naval and military enterprises, had surpassed, in the pursuits of literature, even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age, and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his *History of the World*. To increase these favorable dispositions, on

Raleigh's unpopularity.

which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he spread the report of a golden mine, which he had discovered in Guiana, and which was sufficient, according to his representations, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The King gave little credit to these mighty promises, both because he believed that no such mine as the one described was anywhere in nature, and because he considered Raleigh as a man of desperate fortunes, whose business it was, by any means, to procure his freedom, and to reinstate himself in credit and authority. Thinking, however, that he had already undergone sufficient punishment, he released him from the Tower; and, when his vaunts of the golden mine had induced multitudes to engage with him, the King gave them permission to try the adventure, and, at their desire, he conferred on Raleigh authority over his fellow-adventurers. Though strongly solicited, he still refused to grant him a pardon, which seemed a natural consequence, when he was intrusted with power and command. But James declared himself still diffident of Raleigh's intentions; and he meant, he said, to reserve the former sentence, as a check upon his future behavior.

His schemes to gain freedom.

He is liberated.

Raleigh well knew that it was far from the King's purpose to invade any of the Spanish settlements: he therefore firmly denied that Spain had planted any colonies on that part

themselves entitled to expel or exterminate, as usurpers, the ancient possessors and inhabitants. It was in this manner that Sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired to the crown of England a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and though he had immediately left the coast, yet he pretended that the English title to the whole remained certain and indefeasible. But it had happened, in the meantime, that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowledging this imaginary claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Oronooko, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value.

Conflicting claims.

To this place Raleigh directly bent his course; and, remaining himself at the mouth of the river with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son and a Captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, "That this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other;" and, advancing upon the Spaniards, received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This dismayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack; got possession of the town, which they afterward

Sack of St. Thomas.

reduced to ashes; and found not in it anything of value.

Raleigh did not pretend that he had himself seen the mine, which he had engaged so many people to go in quest of: it was Keymis, he said, who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore, which promised such immense treasures; yet Keymis, who owned that he was within two hours' march of the place, refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step toward finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his son's death, and the ill success of the enterprise. Sensible to reproach, and dreading punishment for his behavior, Keymis, in despair, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his own life.

Suicide of Keymis.

The other adventurers now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had ever been to plunder St. Thomas; and, having encouraged his company by the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of the other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by such daring enterprises; and that he trusted to the money he should acquire for making his peace with England; or, if that view failed him, that he purposed to retire into some other country, where his riches would secure his retreat.

The adventurers are discouraged.

The small acquisitions gained by the sack of St. Thomas, discouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into these views; though there were many circumstances in the treaty, and late transactions between the nations, which might invite them to engage in such a piratical war against the Spaniards.

English and Spanish reprisals.

When England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry IV. was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjusting all questions with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to pass over that article in total silence. The Spaniards having, all along, published severe edicts against the intercourse of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this silence in their own favor, and considered it as a tacit acquiescence of England in the established laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, pretended that, as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of the King of Spain's dominions, it was still as lawful for them to trade with his settlements in either Indies, as with his European territories. In consequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England sailed to the Spanish Indies, and met with severe punishment when caught; as they, on the other hand, often stole, and, when superior in power, forced a trade with the inhabitants, and resisted, nay, sometimes plundered, the Spanish governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried

to a great height on both sides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion; because of the difficulty which was found in remedying them upon any fixed principles.

But as there appeared a great difference between private adventurers in single ships, and a fleet acting under a royal commission, Raleigh's companions thought it safest to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. It appears that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish settlements, and, failing of that, to make his escape into France: but all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the King's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy council. The council, upon inquiry, found no difficulty in pronouncing that the former suspicions, with regard to Raleigh's intentions, had been well-grounded; that he had abused the King in the representations which he had made of his projected adventure; that, contrary to his instructions, he had acted in an offensive and hostile manner against his majesty's allies; and that he had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to the King of Spain. He might have been tried, either by common law for this act of violence and piracy, or by martial law for breach of orders: but it was an established principle among lawyers that, as he lay under an actual attainder for high treason, he could

Raleigh's artifices.

great mass of the people of that land, which had cradled John Huss and Jerome of Prague. And good cause the Bohemians soon found for their alarm. Putting into practice that craft which he had learned in the schools of the Jesuits, he rested not until in town after town of the whole country the Protestant service was repressed. This was not to be tamely borne. The Bohemian Protestants, rising in arms, marched to the very walls of Vienna.

The Bohemians rise.

When Matthias died in 1619, Ferdinand was elected Emperor. But almost in the same hour he heard that the Bohemians, disgusted with the spirit of his entire government, and specially enraged at a secret family compact, by which he had bequeathed their crown to Spain if he died without male heirs, had with prayers and many tears chosen for their king the Elector Palatine, a leader among the Protestants of Germany. So the struggle for a crown between Protestant Frederic and Romish Ferdinand was the outbreak of a wider war, of which the first year's fighting had been confined within the curve of the Bohemian mountains and the Danube.

Ferdinand and Frederick.

Already there existed in Europe two great antagonistic confederacies—the Evangelical Union of Protestants, and the Catholic League, which was supported by the Romish powers. The League naturally sided with Ferdinand, and the Union with Frederic. The former depended chiefly on Spain; the

The Union and the League.

latter looked for aid to England, the Dutch Republic, and all the Protestant princes of Germany.

The march of 50,000 Romanist troops under Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, into the Bohemian territory, took Frederic somewhat by surprise. A battle was fought at the White Mountain near Prague, 1620, in which the elector was defeated and forced to flee by night from the city, leaving his crown behind him. Twenty-seven of the leading Protestants were sent to the scaffold, and thousands were driven into exile. Ferdinand tore to pieces with his own hand the "letter of majesty," a document by which Rodolph II. had been forced to grant a certain degree of religious freedom to the Bohemians. The beaten elector and would-be king fled to Brandenburg, and thence to Holland.

Defeat of Frederick.

The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony both stood aloof from their fellow-elector—the one afraid of Austria, the other cautious, selfish, and watchful of his own position. But there was a Bohemian soldier, Count Mansfeldt, who still dared to lift the sword against the generals of Ferdinand. Frederic came back with reviving hopes, for Mansfeldt was at the head of 20,000 men. The Bavarian general, Tilly, proving more than a match for the elector and his friends, drove him to take refuge once more in Holland.

Count Mansfeldt.

The kings of Northern Europe were then

Christian IV. takes the field.

greater men than are their descendants of the present day. Christian IV. of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who were both powerful princes, contended for the honor of leading the Protestant armies. The Swede was the Protestant hero of this great war; but the time had not yet come for his appearance on the changeful scene. The King of Denmark, nearer the battle-ground, and anxious to be beforehand with his royal neighbor and rival, took the field with a great army, as the leader of the Union and the champion of the Protestant cause.

Albert, Count Wallenstein.

Meanwhile the hero of the other side had arisen. When the Emperor Ferdinand was at his wit's end for men and money to meet this new confederacy, Albert, Count Wallenstein, a rich and distinguished Bohemian officer, proposed to raise an army at his own expense, saying that when once in the field they could easily support and pay themselves by plunder. The Emperor accepted the proposal, and in a short time Wallenstein, at the head of a motley force of 30,000 men, moved to the Elbe, 1626. The Danish war did not then last long. Christian IV. was defeated by Tilly at Lutter in Hanover; and in the following year

His great successes.

Wallenstein, whose rapid marches with a gigantic host, now swelled to 100,000 men, are the wonder of historians, drove him out of Germany, and, seizing all the peninsula of Denmark except one fort, shut him up in his

islands. We are told that the great freebooter, raging that he had no ships to cross the Belt, bombarded the sea with red-hot shot—a pitiful caricature of Xerxes' folly at the Hellespont. For his great service Wallenstein was rewarded with the duchies of Mecklenburg, and he also assumed the title of Generalissimo of the Emperor by land and sea.

The next step in his plan of action was to secure the command of the Baltic; and for this purpose he laid siege to Stralsund, a strong fort on the narrow strait which separates the island of Rugen from the mainland. His want of ships prevented him from blocking up the harbor, so that, when the Danish garrison was weakened by repeated assaults on the land side, reinforcements from Sweden found a ready entrance by sea, and defended the town until Wallenstein had to abandon the hopeless siege. This repulse led the Emperor to treat with Christian, who, by the inglorious peace of Lubeck, 1629, agreed to lay down the sword he had so feebly wielded.

He besieges Stralsund.

Richelieu's great aim was the humiliation of the House of Austria. In 1629, he found himself free for the accomplishment of this design, since the two leading objects of his domestic government had been attained. He had broken the power of the Huguenots at Rochelle, and he had tamed with iron hand the haughty noblesse of France. Already he had been deep in political intrigues against

Richelieu's intervention.

Ferdinand, and now, by the aid of his trusty Father Joseph, he gave a new turn to the war. Wallenstein, who had wrung million after million of dollars from the indignant Germans, was hated by them all for his arrogance and extortion. Foremost among a clamorous, complaining crowd was Maximilian of Bavaria, who found himself quite thrown into the shade by the victorious brigand. The emissary of Richelieu, making a handle of the Emperor's desire to please the German princes, artfully persuaded him to dismiss Wallenstein. Obeying without a murmur, though he was then at the head of 100,000 troops flushed with victory, the Bohemian soldier retired to Prague, where he lived with more than royal magnificence.

Wallenstein's life at Prague.

Schiller gives us a strange picture of his daring hero during this time of eclipse. A tall, thin, yellow-faced man, with short red hair, small glittering eyes, and a dark, forbidding brow, sat silent within a palace of silent splendor. The pen seldom left his fingers, for his despatches still flew over all Europe. The surrounding streets were blocked up, lest the noise of carriage-wheels should reach his ear. There, still and unsmiling, he waited for the time which the golden stars had promised—he was, like most men of his time, a devout believer in astrology—when he should be once more called to play a great part in history.

The crafty Richelieu, having thus weakened the cause of Ferdinand, rested not until he saw the Protestant armies marshalled by the greatest soldier of the age, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, who had indeed been long desirous of measuring his strength with the Emperor. There is, in all the range of history, no character finer than that of Gustavus, the hero of this war. Brave himself, he kindled like fire of courage in his soldiers' hearts; religious himself, he took care that, morning and evening, every regiment gathered round its chaplain in a ring for prayer; severe upon sin, yet ever tempering justice with mercy, he was at once loved and feared by his subjects and his soldiers.

Gustavus Adolphus.

On the 20th of May, 1630, Gustavus, having assembled the States at Stockholm, took in his arms his little Christina, only four years old, and showed her to his people as their future sovereign. His farewell was uttered with broken voice, and heard with many tears. A month later, he landed on the island of Rugen in Pomerania with 15,000 men. At first all that was done in Vienna was to sneer at the Snow King, who, as the wits said, would surely melt as he marched southward. But when this same Snow King, seizing Stettin, overran all Pomerania, it was time to act. Tilly was made General-in-Chief of the Austrian armies. Still the career of the victorious Swedes went on. Strengthened by an

The Snow King.

alliance with France, they took Frankfort, and all that Tilly could do in revenge was to wreak his rage upon the helpless population of Magdeburg. This town, which was then a great Protestant stronghold, stands on the Elbe. Enraged at the gallant defence of the place, this ugly, big-whiskered dwarf, whose green doublet, and little cocked hat with a red feather hanging down his back, must have made him cut a rather remarkable figure, let slip his dogs of war upon the city, which he took by storm, before the Swedes could come to its relief. The horrors of the sack of Magdeburg are unspeakable. Beautiful girls and wrinkled grandames, strong men and helpless infants were shot and stabbed and thrown for amusement into the flames of the burning streets. The pavement was slippery with the blood of 30,000 dead.

Sack at Magdeburg

Gustavus Adolphus, forcing the selfish Elector of Saxony to join him, marched upon Leipsic, which had opened its gates to Tilly. And then there was a great battle, which secured the freedom of Germany (1631). Tilly, without much difficulty, routed the Saxons, who fought apart from the Swedes. Seven times Pappenheim, the leader of the Austrian cavalry, dashed with his heavy cuirassiers upon the lines of Swedish blue-coats; but every time the sweeping wave recoiled in broken foam. Having thus repulsed Pappenheim, the royal S[illegible] troops of

Battle of Leipsic.

Scene at Prague during Thirty Years' War

(A.D. 1618)

From Painting by Brozik

Tilly, who had broken the Saxon wing, and, seizing the heights where their cannon were planted, he turned their own guns upon them. This decided the day. Tilly fled, bleeding and defeated; and Gustavus knelt among the slain and wounded to thank God for his victory. Seven thousand of the Austrian army lay dead. Their camp, all their cannon, and more than a hundred colors fell into the hands of the victors.

The Swedes' triumphant progress.

Gustavus, then penetrating central Germany, took Frankfort on his way, and crossed the Rhine to besiege Mentz. The Spanish troops, who held this town, surrendered on the fourth day. The Swedish King thus gained the command of the Rhine, much to the alarm of Louis XIII., and even of Richelieu, who thought that the royal victor would surely push on to join the Huguenots, and overturn the Romish faith in France. But soon, turning southeast, Gustavus pressed on to the Lech, a tributary of the Danube. Tilly, having broken down all the bridges, defended the passage of the stream until he was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball, which shattered his leg. Then, breaking up his camp, he retreated to die. The Swedes, at once overrunning Bavaria, entered Munich in triumph. Already their Saxon allies were masters of Prague.

Wallenstein recalled.

Ferdinand had then no resource but to recall Wallenstein, who, when he heard of these

brilliant victories won by Gustavus, knew with secret joy that his star was rising once more. Coming forth from his retreat, by the magic of his name and his splendid promises, he raised in three months a fine force of 40,000 men. But of these he would accept the command only on condition that he should hold unlimited power over all the armies of Austria and Spain, and that no commission or pension should be granted by Ferdinand without his approval. To these demands, insolent and imperious though they were, the distressed Emperor was forced to yield. Wallenstein took the field and drove the Saxons out of Bohemia. Then uniting his forces with those of the Elector Maximilian, he found himself at the head of 60,000 veteran soldiers, —an army much larger than that marching under the banners of Gustavus. The Swede shut himself up in Nuremberg. There for eleven weeks the two armies lay in strongly fortified camps, watching each other, and wasting away with hunger and disease. In vain Gustavus offered battle; and on one occasion he made a furious attack upon the camp of Wallenstein, which, however, was repulsed. At last, weary of doing nothing, both armies broke up their camps, to meet soon upon a memorable battlefield.

His arrogant demands.

In vain Gustavus offers battle.

Wallenstein moved toward Dresden. Gustavus followed his march with rapid steps. On a plain near Lutzen, a village twelve miles

southwest of Leipsic, the imperial general awaited his royal foe (November 6, 1632). Battle of Lutzen. A fog delayed the attack until eleven o'clock. Gustavus went to battle with the music of Luther's noble hymn on his lips. The Swedish infantry took a battery, whose guns had galled them severely; but the flying imperialists, rallied by the stern voice of Wallenstein, turned and drove them back in confusion. Gustavus, who had been victorious on the right, galloping like lightning to their aid, rode too near the enemy's lines. A bullet broke his arm, another pierced his back,—he fell riddled with balls, and his riderless horse, dripping with blood, carried the sad news over the field. The Swedes, roused to fury, grew careless of danger or death. In spite of the cool daring of Wallenstein, whose cloak was torn with many bullets, and the dashing valor of Pappenheim, who was shot to the heart at the head of his dragoons, the troops of the Emperor gave way and fled. It was the "crowning mercy" of the Protestant cause; but there was no joy in that victory, for Gustavus Adolphus was dead. Death of Gustavus.

To quote the eloquent words of Schiller—"With the fall of their great leader, it is true, there was reason to apprehend the ruin of his party; but to that Power which governs the world the loss of no single man can be irreparable. Two great statesmen, Oxenstiern in Germany, and Richelieu in France, took the Oxenstiern.

guidance of the helm of war as it dropped from his hands; destiny pursued its relentless course over his tomb, and the flame of war blazed for sixteen years longer over the ashes of the departed hero."

But with the death of Gustavus nearly all interest fades from the story of the war. At once Oxenstiern, the chancellor and dear friend of the dead King, being then in Germany, hastened to the camp, and was soon chosen head of the Protestant confederacy by an assembly of princes meeting at Heilbronn. The Swedes and Germans still kept the field. Ratisbon was taken by the Protestants; but the war degenerated into a succession of skirmishes, and pitched battles became very rare.

Assassination of Wallenstein.

Wallenstein, entering into secret correspondence with the Germans, grew inactive, was deserted by his army, and in February, 1634, being then fifty years of age, was assassinated in the castle of Eger. The murderers were richly rewarded by the Emperor.

France in the field.

When the Swedes, who were now fighting, not for the Empire of Germany, but for their very existence, suffered a severe defeat at Nördlingen in Suabia (August, 1634), Oxenstiern, unable to get money or aid of any sort from the German States, threw his cause upon the compassion of France. Richelieu, whom we have already beheld working behind the scenes, and whose covetous eye had long been

fixed on Alsace, as a means of extending the French frontier to the Rhine, gladly obeyed the summons. Two fleets were fitted out, and six French armies took the field. In aid of the Protestants the Cardinal undertook to cripple the power of Spain, whose alliance formed the main prop of the Emperor's cause. In the Netherlands, in Italy, and in the Valteline his soldiers fought the Spaniards; and on the Rhine, siding with the Swedes and Germans, they met the troops of the Emperor.

Ferdinand died in 1637, but the war kindled by his tyranny still desolated Europe. Many gallant leaders rose to fill the place of Gustavus; and of these perhaps the best was Bernard of Weimar, who died of plague in 1639 at Neuburg on the Rhine. Banner and Torstenson, who was once the page of Gustavus, led the Swedish armies toward the close of the war. After the death of Richelieu the French sustained two signal defeats—in 1643 at Düttlingen, and in 1644 at Friburg.

Bernard of Weimar.

The peace of Westphalia, signed at Munster in 1648, closed this eventful war. The leading terms of this celebrated treaty, which is looked upon as having laid the groundwork of our modern Europe, were—1. That France should retain Metz, Toul, Verdun, and the whole of Alsace except Strasburg and a few other cities; receiving, instead of these, two fortresses—Breisach and Philippsburg, which

Peace of Westphalia

were regarded as the keys of Upper Germany. 2. That Holland should be a free state, independent alike of Spain and of the Empire. 3. That the Swiss Cantons should be free. 4. That Sweden, receiving Stralsund, Wismar, and other important posts on the Baltic, should also be paid five millions of dollars, as indemnification for the expenses of the war.

Germany's wretched condition.

Thus Germany lost for a time the free navigation of the Rhine and many of her richest provinces. The glorious old empire dwindled away to a mere shadow of its former greatness. The leading princes soon made themselves wholly independent; and, if the petty states still clung to their Emperor, it was only that he might shelter them from the inroads of their more powerful neighbors. The social condition of Germany after the war was utterly wretched. Scarcely one-third of her old population crouched in the poverty-stricken land, whence art and science seemed to have fled forever, where heaps of ashes marked the site of once busy towns, and where sandy deserts, stretching for leagues, filled the place of golden corn-fields. Even the sturdy German tongue was changed; a host of French, Spanish, and Italian words had invaded and held possession of the land; and a

Her language.

mongrel speech, formed of foreign words tipped with German endings, became the miserable fashion of the day.

THE VOYAGE OF THE "MAYFLOWER"

(A.D. 1620)

WILLIAM BRADFORD

AFTER they* had lived in this city† about some eleven or twelve years (which is the more observable, being the whole time of that famous truce between that state and the Spaniards), and sundry of them were taken away by death, and many others began to be well stricken in years, the grave mistress, Experience, having taught them many things, those prudent governors, with sundry of the sagest members, began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, and wisely to foresee the future, and think of timely remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts, and much discourse of things here aboute, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of removal to some other place.

The Pilgrim Fathers decide to emigrate.

At length, after much travail and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship was bought and fitted in Hol-

* The Pilgrims who had sought refuge from England in Holland.

† Leyden.

land, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the country and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another was hired at London, of burden about ninescore; and all things got in readiness. So being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra 8, 21. "And there at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance." Upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably, and suitable to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, unto a town sundry miles off, called Delfts-Haven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes unto the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits. When they came to the place they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them followed aft[illegible] and sun-

Solemn preparations for departure.

Delfts-Haven.

dry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. The night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day the wind being fair, they went aboard, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound among them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each heart; that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfained love. But ye tide (which stays for no man) calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees (and they all with him), with watery cheeks, commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another; which proved to be the last leave to many of them.

The sad parting.

Thus hoisting sail, with a prosperous wind they came in a short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready, with all the rest of the company. . . . Being thus put to sea, they had not gone far, but Mr. Reinolds, the mas-

They set sail.

ter of the lesser ship, complained that he found his ship so leak as he durst not put further to sea till she was mended. So the master of the bigger ship (called Mr. Jones) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth and have her there searched and mended, which, accordingly, was done to their great charge and loss of time and a faire wind. She was here thoroughly searched from stem to stern, some leaks were found and mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen and all that she was sufficient, and they might proceed without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea again, conceiving they should go comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for, after they were gone to sea again about one hundred leagues without the Land's End, holding company together all the while, the master of the small ship complained his ship was so leak as he must bear up or sink at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consult again, and resolved both ships to bear up back again and put into Plymouth, which accordingly was done. But no special leak could be found, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship, and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her and part of the company, and proceed with the other ship.

Signing of the Compact in the Cabin of the "Mayflower"

(A.D. 1620)

From Painting by White

ter of the lesser ship, complained that he found his ship so leak as he durst not put further to sea till she was mended. So the master of the bigger ship (called Mr. Jones) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth and have her there searched and mended, which, accordingly, was done, to their great charge and loss of time and a faire wind. She was here thoroughly searched from stem to stern, some leaks were found and mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen and all that she was sufficient, and they might proceed without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea again, conceiving they should go comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for, after they were gone to sea again about one hundred leagues without the Land's End, holding company together all the while, the master of the small ship complained his ship was so leak as he must bear up or sink at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consult again, and resolved both ships to bear up back again and put into Plymouth, which accordingly was done. But no special leak could be found, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship, and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her and part of the company, and proceed with the other ship.

Delay at Dartmouth.

The *Speedwell* is dismissed.

Signing of the Compact in the Cabin of the "Mayflower"

A.D. 1620

From Painting by White

The which (though it was grievous, and caused great discouragement) was put into execution. So, after they had took out such provision as the other ship could well stow, and concluded both what number and what persons to send back, they made another sad parting, the one ship going back for London, and the other was to proceed on her voyage. Those that went back were, for the most part, such as were willing so to do, either out of some discontent, or fear they conceived of the ill success of the voyage, seeing so many crosses befall, and the year time so far spent; but others, in regard of their own weakness, and charge of many young children, were thought least useful, and most unfit to bear the brunt of this hard adventure.

These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued diverse days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet, according to the usual manner, many were afflicted with sea-sickness.

The *Mayflower* sails from Plymouth.

After they had enjoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they were encountered many times with cross-winds, and met with many fierce storms, with which the ship was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky; and one of the main beams in the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be

able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship, as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with the master and other officers of the ship to consider in time of the danger; and rather to return than to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril. And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves; fain would they do what could be done for their wages sake (being now half seas over), and, on the other hand, they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But, in examining of all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water; and, for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place; the which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that, with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck, and otherways bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works, they would calk them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship they would not long keep staunch, yet there would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they committed themselves to the will of God, and resolved to proceed. In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce,

The terrors at sea.

They resolve to proceed.

and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull for diverse days together. And in one of them, as they lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lusty young man (called John Howland), coming upon some occasion above the gratings, was, with a seele of the ship thrown into the sea; but it pleased God that he caught hold of the topsail halliards, which hung overboard, and ran out at length; yet he held his hold (though he was sundry fathoms under water) till he was held up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat-hook and other means got into the ship again, and his life saved; and, though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church and common wealth. In all this voyage there died but one of the passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near the coast. But to omit other things (that I may be brief), after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had among themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation. But, after they had sailed that course about half a day, they

The plight of John Howland.

The *Mayflower* arrives off Cape Cod.

fell among dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape harbor, where they rid in safety.

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, againe to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land than pass by sea to any place in a short time, so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

Landing of the Pilgrims.

But here I can not but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which wente before), they had now no friends to welcome

them, nor inns to entertain their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or, much less, towns to repair to, to seek for succor. It is recorded in Scripture, as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians showed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear), were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? And what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face; and the whole country full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be

Their dismal condition.

The wild and savage land.

said they had a ship to succor them, it is true; but what heard they daily from the master and company? But that with speed they should look out a place with their shallop, where they would be at some near distance; for the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them where they would be, and he might go without danger; and that victuals consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves and their retinue. Yea, it was muttered by some that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them. Let it also be considered what weak hopes of supply and succor they left behind them, that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trials they were under; and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire toward them, but they had little power to help them, or themselves; and how the case stood between them and the merchants at their coming away, hath already been declared. What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace? Might not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: "Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice and looked on their adversity, etc. Let them

Small hope of succor.

therefore praise the Lord, because he is good and his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in, both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord his loving-kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men."

Their sole support.

[In 1622, English rivalry with Portugal in the East ends with the taking of Ormuz. In 1626, the Dutch make a settlement—New Amsterdam—on Manhattan Island. La Rochelle is forced to surrender in 1628; and a charter is granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company. Two years later, a thousand colonists, including Winthrop, the Governor, arrive in Massachusetts and found Boston and other towns. In 1632, the *Gazette de France* is founded by Renaudot. In 1632, Maryland is colonized by Lord Baltimore. In 1634, the Dutch take Curaçoa, which island becomes the headquarters of contraband trade with the Spanish mainland. The French occupy Martinique and Guadeloupe in that year. [illegible] the Dutch recapture Breda, Spain's [illegible]ession in Holland. In 1637, the use [illegible] in St. Giles' Church, Edinriot and a committee called

Spain loses her last possession in Holland.

The Tables is formed. In this year Descartes publishes his *Géometrie*, which begins the period of modern mathematics. In the next year Galileo issues his *Mathematical Discourses and Demonstrations*. In 1638, Rhode Island is bought from the Indians and colonized by refugees from Massachusetts, and the Swedes and Finns form a settlement—New Sweden—on the Delaware (this is annexed to the New Netherlands in 1655). In 1639, the English East India Company buys its first territorial possession in India, on which it builds Madras. In 1640, the Long Parliament meets and impeaches Laud and Strafford. Parliament abolishes the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts. In the next year, in England, money is raised by tonnage and poundage and by a tax on property and income. In 1642, Cinq-Mars plots to supplant Richelieu, is betrayed by Orleans and is executed with De Thou. Richelieu dies.]

Descartes and Galileo.

The Long Parliament meets.

THE WAR BETWEEN CHARLES I. AND THE PARLIAMENT

(A.D. 1642—1646)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

IN August, 1642, the sword was at length drawn; and soon, in almost every shire of the kingdom, two hostile factions appeared in arms against each other. It is not easy to say which of the contending parties was at first the more formidable. The Houses commanded London and the counties round London, the fleet, the navigation of the Thames, and most of the large towns and seaports. They had at their disposal almost all the military stores of the kingdom, and were able to raise duties, both on goods imported from foreign countries, and on some important products of domestic industry. The King was ill provided with artillery and ammunition. The taxes which he laid on the rural districts occupied by his troops produced, it is probable, a sum far less than that which the Parliament drew from the city of London alone. He relied, indeed, chiefly, for pecuniary aid, on the munificence of his opulent

Resources of the Parliamentarians.

Devotion of the Cavaliers.

adherents. Many of these mortgaged their land, pawned their jewels, and broke up their silver chargers and christening bowls, in order to assist him. But experience has fully proved that the voluntary liberality of individuals, even in times of the greatest excitement, is a poor financial resource when compared with severe and methodical taxation, which presses on the willing and unwilling alike.

Charles, however, had one advantage, which, if he had used it well, would have more than compensated for the want of stores and money, and which, notwithstanding his mismanagement, gave him, during some months, a superiority in the war. His troops at first fought much better than those of the Parliament. Both armies, it is true, were almost entirely composed of men who had never seen a field of battle. Nevertheless, the difference was great. The Parliamentary ranks were filled with hirelings whom want and idleness had induced to enlist. Hampden's regiment was regarded as one of the best; and even Hampden's regiment was described by Cromwell as a mere rabble of tapsters and serving men out of place. The royal army, on the other hand, consisted in great part of gentlemen, high-spirited, ardent, accustomed to consider dishonor as more terrible than death, accustomed to fencing, to the use of firearms, to bold rid-

Contrast of the contending forces.

ing, and to manly and perilous sport, which has been well called the image of war. Such gentlemen, mounted on their favorite horses, and commanding little bands, composed of their younger brothers, grooms, game-keepers, and huntsmen, were, from the very first day on which they took the field, qualified to play their part with credit in a skirmish. The steadiness, the prompt obedience, the mechanical precision of movement, which are characteristic of the regular soldier, these gallant volunteers never attained. But they were at first opposed to enemies as undisciplined as themselves, and far less active, athletic, and daring. For a time, therefore, the Cavaliers were successful in almost every encounter.

The Houses had also been unfortunate in the choice of a general. The rank and wealth of the Earl of Essex made him one of the most important members of the Parliamentary party. He had borne arms on the Continent with credit, and, when the war began, had as high a military reputation as any man in the country. But it soon appeared that he was unfit for the post of commander-in-chief. He had little energy and no originality. The methodical tactics which he had learned in the war of the Palatinate did not save him from the disgrace of being surprised and baffled by such a captain as Rupert, who could claim no higher fame than that of an enterprising partisan.

Despicable leadership.

Lack of experience.

Nor were the officers who held the chief commissions under Essex qualified to supply what was wanting in him. For this, indeed, the Houses are scarcely to be blamed. In a country which had not, within the memory of the oldest person living, made war on a great scale by land, generals of tried skill and valor were not to be found. It was necessary, therefore, in the first instance, to trust untried men; and the preference was naturally given to men distinguished either by their station, or by the abilities which they had displayed in Parliament. In scarcely a single instance, however, was the selection fortunate. Neither the grandees nor the orators proved good soldiers. The Earl of Stamford, one of the greatest nobles of England, was routed by the Royalists at Stratton. Nathaniel Fiennes, inferior to none of his contemporaries in talents for civil business, disgraced himself by the pusillanimous surrender of Bristol. Indeed, of all the statesmen who at this juncture accepted high military commands,

Hampden alone shows ability.

Hampden alone appears to have carried into the camp the capacity and strength of mind which had made him eminent in politics.

When the war had lasted a year, the advantage was decidedly with the Royalists. They were victorious both in the western and in the northern counties. They had wrested Bristol, the second city in the kingdom, from the Parliament. They had won several battles,

and had not sustained a single serious or ignominious defeat. Among the Roundheads adversity had begun to produce dissension and discontent. The Parliament was kept in alarm, sometimes by plots, and sometimes by riots. It was thought necessary to fortify London against the royal army, and to hang some disaffected citizens at their own doors. Several of the most distinguished peers who had hitherto remained at Westminster fled to the court at Oxford; nor can it be doubted that, if the operations of the Cavaliers had, at this season, been directed by a sagacious and powerful mind, Charles would soon have marched in triumph to Whitehall.

Bright Royalist prospects.

But the King suffered the auspicious moment to pass away; and it never returned. In August, 1643, he sate down before the city of Gloucester. That city was defended by the inhabitants and by the garrison, with a determination such as had not, since the commencement of the war, been shown by the adherents of the Parliament. The emulation of London was excited. The trainbands of the city volunteered to march wherever their services might be required. A great force was speedily collected, and began to move westward. The siege of Gloucester was raised. The Royalists in every part of the Kingdom were disheartened: the spirit of the Parliamentary party revived; and the apostate lords, who had lately fled from Westminster to Ox-

The tide turns.

ford, hastened back from Oxford to Westminster.

And now a new alarming class of symptoms began to appear in the distempered body politic. There had been, from the first, in the Parliamentary party, some men whose minds were set on objects from which the majority of that party would have shrunk with horror.

Rise of the Independents.

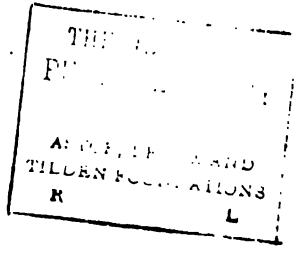
These men were, in religion, Independents. They conceived that every Christian congregation had, under Christ, supreme jurisdiction in things spiritual; that appeals to provincial and national synods were scarcely less unscriptural than appeals to the Court of Arches, or to the Vatican: and that Popery, Prelacy, and Presbyterianism were merely three forms of one great apostacy. In politics, they were, to use the phrase of their time, root and branch men, or, to use the kindred phrase of our own time, radicals. Not content with limiting the power of the monarch, they were desirous to erect a commonwealth on the ruins of the old English polity. At first they had been inconsiderable, both in numbers and in weight; but, before the war had lasted two years, they became, not indeed the largest, but the most powerful faction in the country. Some of the old Parliamentary leaders had been removed by death; and others had forfeited the public confidence. Pym had been borne, with princely honors, to a grave among the Plantagenets. Hampden

Death of Pym and Hampden.

Cardinal Richelieu

SENDING CINQ-MARS AND DE THOU TO LYONS TO BE BEHEADED

(A.D. 1642)


TILDEN

had fallen, as became him, while vainly endeavoring, by his heroic example, to inspire his followers with courage to face the fiery cavalry of Rupert. Bedford had been untrue to the cause. Northumberland was known to be lukewarm. Essex and his lieutenants had shown little vigor and ability in the conduct of military operations. At such a conjuncture it was that the Independent party, ardent, resolute, and uncompromising, began to raise its head, both in the camp and in the Parliament.

Oliver Cromwell.

The soul of that party was Oliver Cromwell. Bred to peaceful occupations, he had, at more than forty years of age, accepted a commission in the Parliamentary army. No sooner had he become a soldier, than he discerned, with the keen glance of genius, what Essex, and men like Essex, with all their experience, were unable to perceive. He saw precisely where the strength of the Royalists lay, and by what means alone that strength could be overpowered. He saw that it was necessary to reconstruct the army of the Parliament. He saw, also, that there were abundant and excellent materials for the purpose; materials less showy, indeed, but more solid, than those of which the gallant squadrons of the King were composed. It was necessary to look for recruits who were not mere mercenaries,—for recruits of decent station and grave character, fearing God and zealous for

public liberty. With such men he filled his own regiment, and, while he subjected them to a discipline more rigid than had ever before been known in England, he administered to their intellectual and moral nature stimulants of fearful potency.

Battle of Marston Moor.

The events of the year 1644 fully proved the superiority of his abilities. In the south, where Essex held the command, the Parliamentary forces underwent a succession of shameful disasters; but in the north the victory of Marston Moor fully compensated for all that had been lost elsewhere. That victory was not a more serious blow to the Royalists than to the party which had hitherto been dominant at Westminster; for it was notorious that the day, disgracefully lost by the Presbyterians, had been retrieved by the energy of Cromwell, and by the steady valor of the warriors whom he had trained.

Essex is removed.

These events produced the self-denying ordinance and the new model of the army. Under decorous pretexts, and with every mark of respect, Essex and most of those who had held high posts under him were removed; and the conduct of the war was intrusted to very different hands. Fairfax, a brave soldier, but of mean understanding and irresolute temper, was the nominal lord-general of the forces; but Cromwell was their real head.

Cromwell made haste to organize the whole army on the same principles on which he had

organized his own regiment. As soon as this process was complete, the event of the war was decided. The Cavaliers had now to encounter natural courage equal to their own, enthusiasm stronger than their own, and discipline such as was utterly wanting to them. It soon became a proverb that the soldiers of Fairfax and Cromwell were men of a different breed from the soldiers of Essex. At Naseby took place the first great encounter between the Royalists and the remodelled army of the Houses. The victory of the Roundheads was complete and decisive. It was followed by other triumphs in rapid succession. In a few months, the authority of the Parliament was fully established over the whole kingdom. Charles fled to the Scots, and was by them, in a manner which did not much exalt their national character, delivered up to his English subjects.

Cromwell reorganizes the army.

While the event of the war was still doubtful, the Houses had put the primate to death, had interdicted, within the sphere of their authority, the use of the liturgy, and had required all men to subscribe that renowned instrument, known by the name of the Solemn League and Covenant. When the struggle was over, the work of innovation and revenge was pushed on with still greater ardor. The ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom was remodelled. Most of the old clergy were ejected from their benefices. Fines, often of ruinous amount, were laid on the Royalists,

Execution of Laud.

Fines and confiscations.

already impoverished by large aids furnished to the King. Many estates were confiscated. Many proscribed Cavaliers found it expedient to purchase, at an enormous cost, the protection of eminent members of the victorious party. Large domains belonging to the crown, to the bishops, and to the chapters, were seized, and either granted away or put up to auction. In consequence of these spoliations a great part of the soil of England was at once offered for sale. As money was scarce, as the market was glutted, as the title was insecure, and as the awe inspired by powerful bidders prevented free competition, the prices were often merely nominal. Thus many old and honorable families disappeared and were heard of no more; and many new men rose rapidly to affluence.

But, while the Houses were employing their authority thus, it suddenly passed out of their hands. It had been obtained by calling into existence a power which could not be controlled. In the summer of 1647, about twelve months after the last fortress of the Cavaliers had submitted to the Parliament, the Parliament was compelled to submit to its own soldiers.

Thirteen years followed during which England was, under various names and forms, really governed by the sword. Never, before that time, or since that time, was the civil power in our country subjected to military dictation.

The army is supreme.

[In 1643, Tasman, sent from Batavia by Van Diemen, Governor of the Dutch East India Company, discovers Tasmania and New Zealand. In 1644, the Manchus seize Pekin, depose the last Emperor of the Ming dynasty (which had reigned since 1368), and establish that of the Manchus. In 1647, Masaniello leads a revolt in Naples against the taxation of food. Masaniello, after being dictator for a week, is killed. In 1648, by the Treaty of Münster, the Dutch are recognized as independent of Spain.]

Dynasty of the Manchus established.

LA FRONDE

(A.D. 1648—1653)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

THE Court of France had for many years been acquiring a character peculiar to itself. François I. had first rendered it the centre of attraction to the kingdom, and by causing his nobles to bring their ladies had rendered it a scene of gallantry, often going beyond the bounds of propriety; Catherine de' Medici had been the first to degrade love into a means of intrigue; Henri IV. had by the sanction of his popular name made vice fashionable and no longer regarded as a disgrace; and though Louis XIII. was personally blameless in this respect, the evil had gone on increasing throughout his reign. After his death, the head of the court was Anne of Austria, the Queen Regent, a kind and graceful lady, devout and conscientious, but with little discretion or force of character, and though well-meaning, and anxious to make her sons good men, leaving their minds uncultivated, and not understanding how to reach their hearts by her religion. Helpless

Corrupt court morals.

and indolent in state affairs, she left them absolutely to the only man whom she could trust, Cardinal Mazarin, while her chief concern with the princes and nobility was to regulate the observance of the stately Spanish etiquette, which ruled that only duchesses of a certain rank might be seated on a stool in the royal presence, and would not allow the Queen to put on her own shift till it had been given to her by the noblest lady present. The exiled Prince of Wales was only allowed to sit on a stool when Anne of Austria visited his mother, Queen Henrietta; and these formalities were observed at a time when poverty had brought the English royal family so low that the young Princess Henrietta had sometimes to lie in bed for want of fire-wood.

Strict etiquette.

Precedence was one of the subjects most thought of among the ladies who thronged the French court, their minds full of intrigues of love and politics. The custom of marrying at an early age, without affection, added to the old troubadour fashion of choosing a lady-love, had led to the practice of almost every lady of any pretensions to beauty being followed by numerous lovers, and such was public opinion in those days that what would now be looked upon as ruin and disgrace, was then so lightly regarded that only persons of high principle withstood the trial. It was a period of great luxury in every respect; art and literature had made great progress, though in

Early marriages.

an affected style; and an imitation of classic taste, by leading further from Christian ideas, added to the spreading depravity. Wit was highly esteemed, and *bon-mots* and epigrams were the constant sport of the court and the weapons of the able as well as of the frivolous. There were great numbers of keen observers, who have left a crowd of cleverly written memoirs, each displaying brilliance without and dreariness within. Some great, and some good there were, both of men and women, and these shone out brightly; but frivolity and intrigue was the general character of the court. At the head of the ladies who here plotted and courted admiration was Anne Marie, the only daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, by his first wife, the heiress of Montpensier. As inheriting these vast possessions, she was extremely rich, and as the first unmarried Princess in France, she was always called Mademoiselle, without any other title. She was high-spirited and proud, and with the most ridiculously high estimate of her own attractions. She coquetted with Charles II., but despised him as an exile, and alternated between designs of marrying her little cousin the King, the Emperor of Germany or the Prince de Condé (as the Duc d'Enghien had become in 1647, by the death of his father), hoping that either death or divorce would remove his poor innocent neglected wife, Claire Clémence.

Bon-mots and epigrams.

La grande Mademoiselle.

Condé's sister, Anne Génévière de Bourbon, was no less noted. She had the same striking features, softened into most brilliantly fair beauty, shaded by profuse flaxen hair, and enhanced by the utmost grace; and she had also his vehemence of disposition and high talent. She had such strong religious feelings as a young girl that she could not endure to enter on the temptations of the world, and when taken by force to her first ball, she wept all the time she was dressing, and wore sackcloth under her robes. But these impressions, though the seed remained by and by to exercise a saving influence, were soon obscured by the scene into which the poor girl was carried. She was given in marriage by her time-serving father to the Duke de Longueville, the descendant of Dunois, and since the fall of the Montmorencys, the premier French Duke, but he was a dull, heavy man, unfit to inspire attachment, and her marriage was the beginning of a career of the utmost levity and dissipation. She attracted crowds of lovers, and used her influence for political purposes, together with objects of her own, and to promote the interests of her brother, to whom she was ardently attached. Hers was a grand character thrown away, but there were multitudes of other women, whose intrigues were no less mischievous, and whose sole purpose was selfish vanity, and desire of importance.

Anne de Bourbon.

She marries the Duke de Longueville.

A court of so much pomp, with a foreign war to support, could not fail to require great sums to meet its expenses, and the Queen and Cardinal raised them by levying taxes and contributions without regard to the rights and privileges of the magistracy. The Parliament of Paris, whose part it was to register the royal decrees, remonstrated, and resisted, and though often baffled returned to the charge with a pertinacity that caused it to be compared to the boys playing in the streets with a sling, or *fronde*, who, often as they were dispersed by the police, returned to their sport undaunted. The name was taken up, and persons in opposition to the court were called Frondeurs.

Illegal taxation.

The Frondeurs.

Growing angry, Anne of Austria resolved to seize one of the hostile members of the Parisian Parliament, and imprison him, and though poor Queen Henrietta warned her of the consequence of the attempt on the five members at Westminster, she persisted. The effect was that the citizens rose in tumult, barricaded the streets, and were with great difficulty pacified for the night by Jean Paul de Gondy, the coadjutor or assistant of the Archbishop of Paris. He was a son of the ducal house of De Retz, very clever, and a great intriguer, with very little principle, but highly popular at Paris, where Mazarin was equally hated and despised.

The Prince de Condé stood in a manner

between the parties. He could not bear to see the Sicilian, as he called Mazarin, interfere with the rights of Frenchmen, yet he would not join the Frondeurs, because he said, "My name is Louis de Bourbon, and I will not peril the crown." He, therefore, advised the Queen to quit Paris in secret, undertaking to blockade the town with his army, and bring the citizens to submission; and accordingly the whole royal family went off at night, and arrived at the empty palace of St. Germain, where they had to sleep on straw mattresses, on the floor. The only princess who remained behind was Condé's own sister, Madame de Longueville, who had been led by her clever and unscrupulous lover, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, to become a violent Frondeuse, and with the Duchess de Bouillon encouraged the people to revolt. Each lady stood in a window, with her hair artfully dishevelled, and one of her children in her arms, appealing to the populace for protection, until they had stirred them up to the utmost enthusiasm. During the siege of Paris, the second son of the Duchess de Longueville was born, and was christened in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the whole city of Paris being his godmother, represented by her *echevins,* or sheriffs. The siege was not effective, for Condé had too small an army to be able to cut off the supplies, and the price of bread never greatly rose. Turenne, who

Condé's position.

Paris in revolt.

was returning with the rest of the forces from Germany, took the side of the Fronde, and the court felt obliged to make peace. The Parliament readily accepted the terms offered, and by the mediation of Condé the kingdom was pacified.

Condé was soon found to presume too much on the part he had played. Arrogant and haughty, he showed his contempt for the double-dealing, cringing Mazarin; and the Queen and Cardinal began to fear that he would take all the power to himself. Mazarin therefore resolved on his arrest, and took measures by which he was enabled suddenly and secretly to capture him, with his brother, the Prince de Conti, and the Duke de Longueville, and imprison them at once in the Castle of Vincennes. Condé showed dignified coolness under this shameful treatment, and, while his fellow prisoners drooped and lamented themselves, he read, gardened, played at battledore, talked and laughed gayly. The Duke and Duchess de Bouillon were also imprisoned. Condé's mother, the last of the Montmorencys, died of grief; but the Duchess de Longueville hastened to Normandy, and went from city to city, fearless of tempest or fatigue, trying to raise the people to liberate the prisoners, but failing, and finding that Mazarin had given orders for her arrest, she escaped in disguise to Holland. None showed such energy and affection as Condé's wife, whom

Condé is arrested.

His sister's devotion.

he had never treated with kindness, and who, in her quietness and humility, had hitherto been overlooked and scorned. With her little son of seven years old, she travelled in disguise to Bordeaux, and there prevailed on the people to rise in her husband's behalf, showing the utmost courage, once actually rushing under fire herself. "Who would have told me," said Condé, "that my wife would be waging war, while I was watering pinks!" His wife's heroism.

The Princess de Condé held out the town of Bordeaux for four months, and though at last obliged to surrender to the royal forces, she obtained favorable terms. Turenne had, also, on hearing of the captivity of his brother, united his army with the Spaniards, in the Netherlands, and though defeated at Rethel, was extremely formidable. It was impossible to permit the first Princes of the Blood to be imprisoned, and the greatest General in the country to be a rebel for the sake of an Italian minister. The Coadjutor de Gondy persuaded Gaston, Duke of Orleans, to place himself at the head of the Parliament, and insist on the liberation of the Princes and the dismissal of the Cardinal. So reluctant was Anne of Austria, that the Parisians suspected her of intending again to steal away her son, and one night rose in tumult, which could not be pacified till their chiefs had seen the Queen in bed, and the young King fast asleep. She was obliged to yield consent to the liberation of the Liberation of the princes.

princes, and they arrived at Paris amid the acclamations of the populace, while Mazarin was forced to leave the country, but he still corresponded with the Queen, and by his intrigues contrived to sow distrust and suspicion among the princes. Condé's own haughty demeanor gave offence, and he soon quarrelled with both Gaston and Gondy. He accused Gondy, before the Parliament, of calumniating him; the Coadjutor replied that he at least had never broken his word, and Condé, affronted, laid his hand on his sword. Four thousand swords were at once drawn by his partisans, but he forbore, and the Coadjutor was allowed to escape, though the Duke de la Rochefoucauld was so much disposed to put an end to his intrigues, that, catching him in the doorway, he shut the two folding doors on him, letting the iron bar fall, so as to hold him by the neck, and nearly strangle him.

Mazarin forced to leave France.

After this violent scene, Condé found that the court were resolved on his captivity or death, and therefore determined to take up arms. Absenting himself from Parliament on the day when the King, having attained his sixteenth year, was declared of age, he proceeded to the south of Fr ıce, and there raised an army to free the rom his ill advisers. His rebellion o of Mazarin, v Turenne, and royal for

Condé takes arms.

been made a cardinal, and had taken his family title of De Retz, had great influence with Gaston of Orleans, and persuaded him to stand neutral between the court and Condé. By this means Gaston placed his own city of Orleans in danger of being occupied by the royal troops, and alarmed on its account, yet too timid to take the decided measure of defending it himself, he allowed his daughter, Anne Marie, to go thither as its champion. Mademoiselle was delighted with the frolic; she set off with her ladies, and, finding some difficulty in having the gates opened to her, she climbed over a broken part of the rampart, went up a ladder, and entered the town, where she awoke such enthusiasm among the citizens, that they would not admit the royal troops, who marched on, while she regarded herself as a second Maid of Orleans.

Mademoiselle at Orleans.

The manœuvres of Turenne and Condé occupied some months, during which each showed great powers of generalship. Their contest came to a crisis at the wretched battle of St. Antoine, so called because held in the parish of that name in the suburbs of Paris. To distinguish the two armies of fellow-countrymen, Condé's men each wore a whisp of straw in their hats, while Turenne's troops were marked by pieces of paper. Condé's army was broken, his best friends slain or [illegible]wounded, and though he was so active that [illegible]id of him, "I did not see one Prince

Battle of St. Antoine.

de Condé, I saw twelve!" in so many places did he seem to be at once, he could not retrieve the day, nor secure a retreat. The gates of Paris were shut behind him, and he must have been cut off but for Mademoiselle, who, after vainly trying to prevail on her father to intercede with the authorities to admit the shattered troops, hurried herself to the Governor of Paris, and by actually threatening to tear out his beard, or to stir up the populace, she forced from him an order to open the gate of St. Antoine. Going herself to a house near, she saw her commands obeyed, and Condé's gentlemen, desperately wounded, borne in by the few who were unhurt; and at length came Condé himself, covered with dust and blood, holding his naked sword, for he had lost the scabbard, and throwing himself into a chair, he burst into tears, calling himself a man in despair, who had lost all his friends.

Prince de Condé's activity.

Condé's despair.

It was the ruin of his cause, and he acted most shamefully by the city which had sheltered him, inciting the mob to rise and murder a number of moderate men who would not join his party. The outrage did him no service, and vexation brought on a severe fever, during which his party declined further. Mazarin, seeing that to yield to the hatred of the Parliament for the present, was the only way to restore tranquillity, quietly left France, and the Parliament at once came to terms with

the royal family. Condé, too proud to ask pardon, became a deserter, and, like his ancestor, the Constable de Bourbon, hurried to seek revenge for the injuries he had suffered, by fighting in the service of Spain.

Louis XIV. returned to his capital with greater power than ever over the finances, and was received with delight, but he never forgot the tumults which he had there witnessed, and in future he seldom inhabited Paris.

Louis returns to his capital.

Cardinal de Retz was arrested, and imprisoned at Nantes, whence he managed to escape by the window, and though he dislocated his shoulder in falling to the ground, he effected his retreat from France, and carried his intrigues to Rome.

Mazarin stayed away till the people had somewhat forgotten their hatred of him, and then coming back openly resumed the ministry which he had directed all the time, and again ruled France, the King, and his mother. So ended the Fronde, a miserable period of intrigue and selfishness, when the Parliament of Paris, struggling against the usurpations of a foreigner, only became linked with the cabals of violent and self-interested men, and thus lost the rights they had before possessed. Mazarin finished what Richelieu had begun, and France was absolutely under the sovereign's authority.

Mazarin finishes Richelieu's work.

[In 1649, Charles I. of England is executed and Cromwell invades Ireland (where Charles II. has been proclaimed), storming Drogheda and Wexford. In 1651, the Navigation Act is passed in England. The single veto is first used in Poland in 1652. In that year, the Dutch East India Company erect a fort and hospital for sailors and soldiers in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope. In 1655, Blake destroys the Barbary fleet; the Duke of Savoy attacks the Vaudois and Cromwell forces Mazarin to stop the persecution; Penn and Venables seize Jamaica, to which colonists come from Barbadoes and St. Kitts; the Chinese Government, determined to check the advance of Russia, destroys her forts on the Amur, built this year. In 1657, Aurungzebe deposes his father and becomes Emperor of India. In 1661, the persecution of the Covenanters in Scotland begins. In 1663, Clarendon, Monk, Shaftesbury and others found the Colony of Carolina. In 1664, the Portuguese secure independence with French aid at the battle of Villa Viciosa. In 1668, the Hansa Diet meets for the last time; the Turks capture Crete after a twenty years' war; and South Carolina is founded. In 1670, a mob in Holland murders the De Witts.]

Charles I. is executed.

Colony of Carolina founded.

THE EXCLUSION BILL AND HABEAS CORPUS ACT

(A.D. 1679)

DAVID HUME

IT soon appeared that Charles had entertained a just opinion of the dispositions of the House. So much were the Commons actuated by the cabals of Shaftesbury and other malcontents; such violent antipathy prevailed against Popery that the King's concessions, though much more important than could reasonably have been expected, were not embraced. A bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the Duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was there declared that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the King's death or resignation, should devolve to the persons next in succession after the Duke; that all acts of royalty which that Prince should afterward perform should not only be void, but be deemed treason; that if he so much as entered any of these dominions, he should be deemed guilty of the same offence; and that all who supported his title should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied ban-

Bill of exclusion.

ishment as well as exclusion, passed the lower House by a majority of seventy-nine.

Other securities to liberty.

The Commons were not so wholly employed about the exclusion bill as to overlook all other securities to liberty. The country party, during all the last Parliament, had much exclaimed against the bribery and corruption of the members; and the same reproach had been renewed against the present Parliament. An inquiry was made into a complaint which was so dangerous to the honor of that assembly, but very little foundation was found for it. Sir Stephen Fox, who was the paymaster, confessed to the House that nine members received pensions to the amount of three thousand four hundred pounds: and after a rigorous inquiry by a secret committee, eight more pensioners were discovered. A sum also, about twelve thousand pounds, had been occasionally given or lent to others. The writers of that age pretend that Clifford and Danby had adopted opposite maxims with regard to pecuniary influence. The former endeavored to gain the leaders and orators of the House, and deemed the others of no consequence. The latter thought it sufficient to gain a majority, however composed. It is likely that the means, rather than the intention, were wanting to both these ministers.

Pensions and bribes.

Pensions and bribes, though it be difficult entirely to exclude them, are dangerous expedients for government; and can not be too

carefully guarded against, nor too vehemently decried by every one who has a regard to the virtue and liberty of a nation. The influence, however, which the crown acquires from the disposal of places, honors, and preferments, is to be esteemed of a different nature. This engine of power may become too forcible, but it can not altogether be abolished, without the total destruction of monarchy, and even of all regular authority. But the Commons at this time were so jealous of the crown that they brought in a bill, which was twice read, excluding from the Lower House all who possessed any lucrative office.

Commons jealous of the crown.

The standing army, and the King's guards, were by the Commons voted to be illegal: a new pretension, it must be confessed; but necessary for the full security of liberty and a limited constitution.

Arbitrary imprisonment is a grievance which, in some degree, has place almost in every government, except in that of Great Britain; and our absolute security from it we owe chiefly to the present Parliament, a merit which makes some atonement for the faction and violence into which their prejudices had, in other particulars, betrayed them. The great charter had laid the foundation of this valuable part of liberty; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but some provisions were still wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evasion or delay from

The petition of right.

ministers and judges. The act of *habeas corpus,* which passed this session, served these purposes. By this act it was prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea. No judge, under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of *habeas corpus,* by which the jailer was directed to produce in court the body of the prisoner (whence the writ has its name), and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the jail lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days; and so proportionably for greater distances: every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the same offence. This law seems necessary for the protection of liberty in a mixed monarchy; and as it has not place in any other form of government, this consideration alone may induce us to prefer our present constitution to all others. It must, however, be confessed that there is some difficulty to reconcile with such extreme liberty the full security and the regular police of a state, especially the police of great cities. It may also be doubted whether the low state of the public revenue in this period, and of the military power, did not still render some discretionary authority in the crown necessary to the support of government.

Habeas Corpus bill.

Its imperfections.

[In 1681, Charles XI., of Sweden, becomes an absolute monarch, expels the nobles and organizes an army and navy; William Penn obtains Delaware Bay and adjacent lands and founds Pennsylvania; La Salle sails down the Mississippi and takes possession of lands in the name of Louis,—Louisiana.]

William Penn founds Pennsylvania.

THE SIEGE OF VIENNA

(A.D. 1683)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

THE House of Austria in Germany was almost as exhausted as it was in Spain, and it was not surprising, for seldom had fresh connections been made to recruit either of the worn-out hypochondriacal races; but archduchesses and infantas had been exchanged again and again as queens and empresses. The present Emperor Leopold was a little, dark, insignificant man, excessively shy and reserved, and with no taste for anything but music, in which he performed so well, that a musician once said to him, "What a pity your Majesty is not a fiddler!" He had begun, as usual, by marrying the Infanta Margarita of Spain, daughter to his aunt Mariana, but fortunately she had no son, and died early. A second wife died of over-fatigue in the chase, and he chose for the third Eleonore Magdalene of Neuberg, one of the best princesses who ever reigned. She was full of high spirit, and of strong religious feeling, hating all the trappings of rank, and dreading the

The House of Austria.

exalted station intended for her, because she would then no longer ride spirited horses to the chase, and because she could not become a Carmelite nun. She took long walks in the summer sun, in hopes that tanned cheeks would cause her to be rejected, but in vain; she was selected as Empress, and thenceforth she applied herself in the most admirable manner to fulfil her duties. She conformed in everything to the tastes of her husband, going with him to the opera with a book of devotions in her hand bound like the words of the opera, translating the best French books into German for him, and even preparing delicate dishes for him with her own hands, while she lived on the hardest fare. All her spare time was spent in charity, austerity, and devotion, and she was so bent on working for the poor, that she knitted for them even as she walked to church.

The Empress Eleonore.

Leopold's devotion took the ordinary Austrian turn of persecuting the Protestants. A disturbance in Hungary afforded him an excuse for declaring, in 1673, that the Magyars had forfeited their freedom, whereupon he imprisoned many of the nobles, pronounced the kingdom hereditary instead of elective, and instituted courts for trying causes of heresy. Two hundred and fifty Lutheran pastors were seized, and when it was found that their constancy under suffering only strengthened their people, they were put out of sight by be-

Persecution of the Magyars.

ing sold for fifty crowns apiece to work in the galleys at Naples; but happily the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, when protecting the Bay of Naples from the French, was able to obtain their liberty, and, receiving them on board his vessels, treated them with great respect and bounty.

This tyranny stirred up a far more dangerous revolt, under the leadership of Count Emmerich Tekeli, who, after some years of partisan warfare, obtained the aid of the Turks. Mahommed IV., who was then Sultan, had many scruples on breaking the truce with Germany, but Louis XIV., who only sought to weaken the Emperor, overcame his doubts, and, in 1682, he sent a Pacha to create Tekeli Prince of Upper Hungary by delivering to him a sword, a vest, and a standard.

The Turks and the rebels.

The next year the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustafa, at the head of 200,000 men, broke into Hungary, and overran the whole country, advancing into Austria up to the very gates of the capital. Leopold and his family took flight, the Empress Eleonore encouraging and comforting her husband; but she was forced to be left at Lintz, where she gave birth to a son, whose face she vowed not to look upon until she should hear that the infidel was driven back.

Invasion of Hungary.

Kara Mustafa [illegible]vanced unopposed, slaughtering all the Chr[illegible] habitants and set up his camp [illegible] fended

Siege of Vienna.

by the Governor, Count Stahremberg, and the good Bishop Kollonitsch, who had been a knight of Malta, with a small, though gallant, garrison; and the townspeople resolved to hold out to the last extremity, while the Duke of Lorraine hovered near with such an army as the German resources could collect, and in it the young French fugitive princes, who here made their first campaign.

The sole hope of the besieged city lay in a quarter whence little aid had hitherto come, in the one great man who for his own lifetime rendered Poland illustrious.

In 1674, the Poles had elected as their king John Sobieski, a nobleman of their own country, who had already shown great talents both in war and policy. Between his election and his coronation, he drove back the Turks who were threatening the country, and his firmness and valor so gained the hearts of his subjects, that he had brought the army into a state of discipline that made the daring courage of the Poles more efficient than ever before. John Sobieski.

Sobieski had, before his elevation to the throne, married a French lady, Marie Casimire de la Grange, an attached wife, but a vain, meddling woman. He was at first inclined to be the ally of Louis XIV., but Marie impelled him to make demands for her French relatives which Louis would not grant; and when she travelled into France to show off her gr[illegible] be treated like

Antagonism to France.

Henrietta Maria of England, whereupon Louis hinted to her that an elective queen was not the same as a hereditary one. She never forgave the affront, and from that time Sobieski was the enemy of Louis XIV. and the friend of Leopold.

A treaty of mutual assistance had been drawn up between Austria and Poland, and in the dire extremity of Vienna the Emperor and Duke of Lorraine wrote letter after letter, begging the King to haste to their relief. The siege had lasted three months, and provisions had become fearfully scarce, cats and other refuse were eaten, and the Viennese watched earnestly for rescue; but, on the other hand, the Turkish army was no less weary of the blockade, and, looking toward the hills, the soldiers exclaimed, "O ye infidels, if ye will not come yourselves, let us at least see your crests over the hills; for once seen, the siege will be over, and we shall be released."

Relief in sight.

The discontent of his troops caused Kara Mustafa to risk an assault, and though it was beaten off, such was the havoc made in the garrison, and so deadly the fire of the Turks, that the citizens had believed the hour of their ruin was come, when, as night came on, they beheld five rockets burst from the summit of the Kahlenberg hill. It was the appointed signal that rescue was at hand, and in two days more cannon were booming on the heights. Stahremberg sent a messenger at night, who

swam the Danube with a letter to the Duke of Lorraine bearing these few words, "No time to be lost! No time, indeed, to be lost!"

Sobieski and the Duke of Lorraine were there, with their forces united with those of all Germany. In the spirit of a crusader, Sobieski harangued his troops, and led them down the mountain side, to burst upon the Othman force. Kara Mustafa soon saw that resistance was vain, and after causing every captive to be slaughtered, as well as all the Turkish women who could not be conveyed away, he took flight with his whole army, who fought desperately as they fled. An immense booty fell into the hands of the conquerors, and Sobieski wrote to his wife, "You will not meet me with the reproach of the Tartar wives: You are no man, you come back without booty." Jewels of every kind abounded, and stores both of ammunition and provisions, coffee among the rest in such quantities that it became a popular drink, and Stahremberg's faithful messenger was the first master of a coffee-house in Christian Europe. The good Bishop Kollonitsch found booty of another kind, five hundred infants, whose mothers had perished in the massacre, and whom he undertook to support and bring up at his own charge.

Flight of the Turks.

Sobieski entered Vienna the next day, in the midst of the ecstasies of the rescued people, who kissed his garments and his horse as

Vienna in ecstasies.

he rode in, and called him father and deliverer; but he did not meet with the like gratitude from their superiors; Leopold had no generosity, and at once became afraid of the preserver of his capital, ordered the Duke of Lorraine to treat him coldly, and though he returned to Vienna three days after the victory, he would not meet Sobieski there. He entered, walking on foot with a taper in his hand, and went to the cathedral at once, but he forgot all thankfulness to the human means of his deliverance.

The Emperor's ungenerous conduct.

He delayed seeing Sobieski till the ceremonies of the meeting should be settled. "How should the Emperor meet the King of Poland?" he said. "With open arms," replied the Duke of Lorraine; but Leopold could not make up his mind to let an elective King sit on his right hand, and, therefore, made endless excuses, till Sobieski, guessing the cause, proposed to obviate the difficulty by meeting him on horseback before the camp.

This was done, and the Emperor, stiff, chill, and haughty, rode out to meet the great King, and spoke a few words of thanks in Latin. With grave dignity, Sobieski replied in the same tongue, "I am glad, sir, to have rendered you this small service;" then, as his son approached, he presented him, saying, "This is a prince, whom I am rearing for the service of Christendom." Young James Sobieski bowed, but the Emperor only made a

Sobieski's noble nature.

movement with his head, without even raising his hand to his hat. Sobieski was in absolute consternation at meeting with such treatment, and the Poles complained loudly of the discourtesy and ingratitude that they experienced in matters of more importance, for provisions were not supplied, the sick were not allowed to be removed from the camp, and the dead were denied burial in the cemeteries. The Duke of Lorraine and the other German princes were equally ill-treated. Eugene, however, was made Colonel of a regiment, and Stahremberg received the order of the Golden Fleece and the rank of Field Marshal. Still, for the sake of his oath to aid the Emperor, and for the cause of Christendom, Sobieski did not desert the imperial army, and the retreat of the Turks was followed up to the Danube. Once the Poles, having pushed too far ahead, were driven back, and met with severe loss; Sobieski himself, who had fought in the rear, was left with only six men near him, and had to ride for his life, and when he reached the German troops, was so exhausted that he was obliged to lie panting on a heap of straw.

Poles complain of discourtesy and ingratitude.

Five days after, however, the united armies gained a great victory at Gran, which led to the recovery of that city, after it had been in the hands of the infidel for eighty years. The Sultan, who had prepared the greatest rejoicings for the capture of Vienna, with fires

Capture of Gran.

where effigies of the Pope and Emperor were to be burned, was so enraged at the failure, that the Mufti hardly withheld him from a general massacre of his Christian subjects, and, on the news of the defeat at Gran, he sent a bowstring as a signal for the execution of Kara Mustafa. The Vizier, consoling himself by the words of the Koran, which declared it glorious to die by the will of the Prince of the Faithful, prostrated himself at the tidings, kissed the messenger, gave up his seal to the Aga of the Janissaries, and submitted with Turkish dignity.

Death of Kara Mustafa.

[In 1683, Aurungzebe begins his wars in Southern India with the Mahrattas. In 1684, the Pope negotiates a Holy League between the Emperor and Venice against the Turks. In 1685, Charles II. of England dies and is succeeded by James II. Monmouth enters Taunton with 5,000 men. He is routed at Sedgmoor and soon captured and executed. Argyle, returning from exile in Holland, attempts to raise an insurrection, but is captured and executed. In 1685, also, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is published and the Huguenots emigrate.]

Monmouth and Argyle executed.

REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

(A.D. 1685)

FRANCOIS MARIE AROUET DE VOLTAIRE

LOUIS XIV., who, upon seizing Strasburg in 1681, engaged to protect Lutheranism, might have acted in the same manner with respect to Calvinism, and left it to time to abolish it insensibly; as it every day diminishes the number of Lutherans in Alsace. Could it be imagined that in forcing a great number of his subjects to abandon their religion, he would not lose many more, who, in spite of all his edicts and guards, would find means to withdraw themselves from a violence which they termed a horrible persecution? Why should a million of people be compelled to hate a name so dear and precious, and to which both Protestants and Catholics, Frenchmen and strangers, had agreed to join the epithet of Great? Policy itself seemed to require a toleration of the Calvinists, in order to oppose them to the continual pretensions of the court of Rome. The King about this very time had openly quarrelled with Innocent II., the avowed enemy

Mistakes of Louis XIV. regarding Calvinism.

of France. But Louis XIV., equally attached to the interests of his religion and his grandeur, was resolved to humble the Pope with one hand, and crush Calvinism with the other.

His vanity.

He considered these two enterprises as productive of that lustre of glory of which he was in all things fond, even to idolatry. The bishops, the intendants, the whole council made him believe that the bare appearance of his troops was sufficient to complete what his liberalities and missions had already begun. He thought he did no more than exert his authority; but those to whom that authority was committed proceeded with extreme rigor.

The Dragonade.

Toward the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Louis XIV., still powerfully armed, had nothing to apprehend from any of his neighbors, troops were sent into all the cities and castles where the Protestants were most numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill disciplined, committed the greatest excesses, this execution obtained the name of the Dragonade.

The frontiers were guarded with all possible care to prevent the flight of those who were designed to be reunited to the Church. It was a kind of chase carried on within a large inclosure.

A bishop, an intendant, a sub-delegate, a curate, or some other person in authority, marched at the head of the soldiers. The

principal Calvinist families were assembled, those especially who were judged most likely to submit. They renounced their religion in the name of the rest; and such as continued obstinate were given up to the mercy of the soldiers, who had every license except that of killing: yet many were treated with so much cruelty as to die soon after of the usage they had received. The posterity of the refugees in foreign countries still exclaim against this persecution of their fathers, comparing it to the most violent the Church sustained in the primitive ages of Christianity.

Cruelties inflicted upon the Huguenots.

It afforded a strange contrast to behold such cruel and merciless orders issued from the bosom of a voluptuous court, eminent for softness of manners, the graces and all the endearing charms of social life. The inflexible character of the Marquis de Louvois appears conspicuous in this whole affair, and points out to our observation the same genius which had proposed to bury Holland under the waves and afterward destroyed the Palatinate with fire and sword. There are still extant several letters under his own hand, dated in the year 1685, and conceived in these terms: "It is his Majesty's pleasure that such as refuse to conform to his religion be proceeded against with the utmost rigor, and that not the least indulgence be shown to those who affect the foolish glory of being the last to comply."

The Marquis de Louvois.

Paris was not exposed to these vexations: the cries of the sufferers would have made themselves heard too near the throne.

While the churches of the Reformed were thus demolished in all parts, and abjurations were demanded in the provinces with an armed force, the Edict of Nantes was at last revoked in the month of October, 1685, which completed the ruin of the Protestant cause, already weakened and undermined on all sides.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The chamber of the Edict had been suppressed some time before, and the Calvinist counsellors in Parliament were ordered to resign their places. Arrets of council appeared, one upon the neck of another, to extirpate the remains of the proscribed religion. That which proved the most fatal was the order for seizing the children of the pretended Reformed and putting them into the hands of their nearest Catholic relations; an order against which the voice of nature cried so loudly that it was never put into execution.

The order for seizing children.

But in this celebrated Edict, which revoked that of Nantes, the way was paved to an event directly contrary to what was intended. The government aimed at reuniting the Calvinists to the national church. Gourville, a man of a clear and piercing judgment, counselled Louvois, as is well known, to imprison all the ministers and release only such as, being gained by secret pensions, would

agree to abjure in public, and might thereby contribute more to the projected reunion than the missionaries and soldiers. But instead of following this politic advice, an edict appeared, ordering all the ministers who refused to renounce their religion to quit the realm in fifteen days. It was blindness to imagine that in driving away the pastors, a great part of the flock would not follow. It was presuming unreasonably upon power, and argued very little knowledge of mankind, to believe that so many ulcerated hearts, so many imaginations warmed with the idea of martyrdom, especially in the southern parts of France, would not run all hazards to go and publish their constancy and the glory of their exile among strangers, when so many nations, envious of the fortune of Louis XIV., were ready with open arms to receive them.

Banishment of the ministers.

The old Chancellor Tellier, when he signed the Edict, cried with an air of joy: *"Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum."* He did not imagine that what he then signed would be productive of the greatest mischief to France.

Louvois, his son, no less deceived himself in believing that a bare order was sufficient for the guard of the frontiers, and to prevent the escape of such as thought their duty obliged them to fly. Industry, when employed to elude the law, always proves an overmatch for authority. The gaining over some few of the

Flight of the Huguenots.

France's great losses.

guards sufficed for the escape of a multitude of refugees. Near fifty thousand families, within the space of three years, left the kingdom, and were afterward followed by others, who introduced their arts, manufactures and riches among strangers. Almost all the north of Germany, a country hitherto rude and void of industry, received a new face from the multitudes of refugees transplanted thither, who peopled entire cities. A part of the suburbs of London was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk; others carried thither the art of making crystal in perfection, which was about this time lost in France. The gold which the refugees brought with them is still very frequently to be met with in Germany. Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, a prodigious quantity of specie, and, above all, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers. The Prince of Orange had entire regiments of refugees. Some settled even at the Cape of Good Hope. The nephew of the celebrated Du Quêne, Lieutenant-General of the Marine, founded a colony at that extremity of the globe.

Rigorous measures.

It was to no purpose to fill the prisons and galleys with those who had been caught endeavoring to make their escape. What could be done with such a multitude of wretches, whom the hardships they suffered served only

to confirm in their belief? How could persons bred to the law, or infirm old men, be made to serve in the galleys? Some hundreds embarked for America. At last the council imagined that, by leaving the frontiers open, desertions would become less frequent, as men would no longer be instigated by the secret pleasure of disobeying. But this was found to be a mistake; and, after leaving the passages open, guards were a second time planted to no purpose.

The frontiers left open.

After demolishing all the churches of the Reformed, and banishing the pastors, the great point was to retain in the Roman communion such as through persuasion or fear had quitted their religion. There were about four hundred thousand of these in the kingdom who were obliged to go to mass and communicate. Some who, after embracing the Catholic religion, rejected the host, were sentenced to be burned alive. The bodies of such as refused to receive the sacraments at their death, were drawn upon a hurdle and denied Christian burial.

Severe persecutions.

Persecution never fails to make proselytes, especially when it is exerted against a spirit of enthusiasm. The Calvinists assembled to sing their hymns, though the penalty of death was denounced against all who should be found at such assemblies. Ministers returning into the kingdom were likewise to suffer death, and a reward of five thousand five hun-

Measures against ministers.

dred livres was to be given to whosoever should inform against them. Several returned, who were either hanged or broke upon the wheel.

The sect, apparently crushed, still subsisted.

The sect, though crushed in appearance, still subsisted. It vainly flattered itself, in the war of 1689, that King William, who had dethroned his father-in-law for being a Catholic, would support Calvinism in France. But in the war of 1701, fanaticism produced a rebellion in Languedoc.

THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS

(A.D. 1688)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

THIS scandalous apostasy could not but heighten the interest with which the nation looked forward to the day when the fate of the seven brave confessors of the English Church was to be decided. To pack a jury was now the great object of the King. The crown lawyers were ordered to make strict inquiry as to the sentiments of the persons who were registered in the freeholders' book. Sir Samuel Astry, clerk of the Crown, whose duty it was, in cases of this description, to select the names, was summoned to the palace, and had an interview with James in the presence of the chancellor. Sir Samuel seems to have done his best. For, among the forty-eight persons whom he nominated, were said to be several servants of the King, and several Roman Catholics. But as the counsel for the bishops had a right to strike off twelve, these persons were removed. The crown lawyers also struck off twelve. The list was thus reduced to twenty-four. The first twelve who

Selection of the jury.

answered to their names were to try the issue.

On the twenty-ninth of June, Westminster Hall, Old and New Palace Yard, and all the neighboring streets to a great distance, were thronged with people. Such an auditory had never before, and has never since, been assembled in the court of King's Bench. Thirty-five peers of the realm were counted in the crowd.

Popular interest in the trial.

All the four judges of the court were on the bench. Wright, who presided, had been raised to his high place over the heads of many abler and more learned men solely on account of his unscrupulous servility. Allybone was a Papist, and owed his situation to that dispensing power, the legality of which was now in question. Holloway had hitherto been a serviceable tool of the government. Even Powell, whose character for honesty stood high, had borne a part in some proceedings which it is impossible to defend.

The gov-ernment's counsel.

The counsel were by no means fairly matched. The government had required from its law officers services so odious and disgraceful that all the ablest jurists and advocates of the Tory party had, one after another, refused to comply, and had been dismissed from their employments. Sir Thomas Powis, the Attorney-General, was scarcely of the third rank in his profession. Sir William Williams, the Solicitor-General, had quick parts and daunt-

less courage; but he wanted discretion; he loved wrangling; he had no command over his temper; and he was hated and despised by all political parties. The most conspicuous assistants of the attorney and solicitor were Sergeant Trinder, a Roman Catholic, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, Recorder of London, who had some legal learning, but whose fulsome apologies and endless repetitions were the jest of Westminster Hall.

The counsel for the defence.

On the other side were arrayed almost all the eminent forensic talents of the age. Sawyer and Finch, who, at the time of the accession of James, had been attorney and solicitor-general, and who, during the persecution of the Whigs in the late reign, had served the crown with but too much vehemence and success, were of counsel for the defendants. With them were joined two persons who, since age had diminished the activity of Maynard, were reputed the two best lawyers that could be found in all the inns of court; Pemberton, who had, in the time of Charles the Second, been Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, who had been removed from his high place on account of his humanity and moderation, and who had resumed his practice at the bar; and Pollexfen, who had long been at the head of the western circuit, and who, though he had incurred much unpopularity by holding briefs for the crown at the Bloody Assizes, and particularly by appearing against Alice Lisle,

was known to be at heart a Whig, if not a republican. Sir Creswell Levinz was also there, a man of great knowledge and experience, but of singularly timid nature. He had been removed from the bench some years before, because he was afraid to serve the purposes of the government. He was now afraid to appear as the advocate of the bishops, and had at first refused to receive their retainer; but it was intimated to him by the whole body of attorneys who employed him, that, if he declined this brief, he should never have another.

Sir George Treby, an able and zealous Whig, who had been Recorder of London under the old charter, was on the same side. Sir John Holt, a still more eminent Whig lawyer, was not retained for the defence, in consequence, it should seem, of some prejudice conceived against him by Sancroft, but was privately consulted on the case by the Bishop of London. The junior counsel for the bishops was a young barrister named John Somers. He had no advantages of birth or fortune; nor had he yet had any opportunity of distinguishing himself before the eyes of the public; but his genius, his industry, his great and various accomplishments, were well known to a small circle of friends; and, in spite of his Whig opinions, his pertinent and lucid mode of arguing, and the constant propriety of his demeanor, had already secured to him the ear

John Somers.

of the Court of King's Bench. The importance of obtaining his services had been strongly represented to the bishops by Johnstone; and Pollexfen, it is said, had declared that no man in Westminster Hall was so well qualified to treat an historical and constitutional question as Somers.

The jury. The jury was sworn; it consisted of persons of highly respectable station. The foreman was Sir Roger Langley, a baronet of old and honorable family. With him were joined a knight and ten esquires, several of whom are known to have been men of large possessions. There were some Nonconformists in the number; for the bishops had wisely resolved not to show any distrust of the Protestant Dissenters. One name excited considerable alarm, that of Michael Arnold. He was brewer to the palace; and it was apprehended that the government counted on his voice. The story goes that he complained bitterly of the position in which he found himself. "Whatever I do," he said, "I am sure to be half ruined. If I say Not Guilty, I shall brew no more for the King; and if I say Guilty, I shall brew no more for anybody else."

The great trial. The trial then commenced, a trial which, even when coolly perused after the lapse of more than a century and a half, has all the interest of a drama. The advocates contended on both sides with far more than professional keenness and vehemence; the audience list-

ened with as much anxiety as if the fate of every one of them was to be decided by the verdict; and the turns of fortune were so sudden and amazing, that the multitude repeatedly passed in a single minute from anxiety to exultation, and back again from exultation to still deeper anxiety.

Charge against the bishops.

The information charged the bishops with having written or published, in the county of Middlesex, a false, malicious, and seditious libel. The attorney and solicitor first tried to prove the writing. For this purpose several persons were called to speak to the hands of the bishops. But the witnesses were so unwilling that hardly a single, plain answer could be extracted from any of them. Pemberton, Pollexfen, and Levinz contended that there was no evidence to go to the jury. Two of the judges, Holloway and Powell, declared themselves of the same opinion; and the hopes of the spectators rose high. All at once the crown lawyers announced their intention to take another line. Powis, with shame and reluctance which he could not dissemble, put into the witness-box Blathwayt, a clerk of the privy council, who had been present when the King interrogated the bishops. Blathwayt swore that he had heard them own their signatures. His testimony was decisive. "Why," said Judge Holloway to the attorney, "when you had such evidence, did you not produce it at first, without all this waste of time?" It

Blathwayt's evidence.

soon appeared why the counsel for the crown had been unwilling, without absolute necessity, to resort to this mode of proof. Pemberton stopped Blathwayt, subjected him to a searching cross-examination, and insisted upon having all that had passed between the King and the defendants fully related. At length Blathwayt was forced to give a full account of what had passed. It appeared that the King had entered into no express covenant with the bishops. But it appeared also that the bishops might not unreasonably think that there was an implied engagement. Indeed, from the unwillingness of the crown lawyers to put the clerk of the council into the witness-box, and from the vehemence with which they objected to Pemberton's cross-examination, it is plain that they were themselves of this opinion.

However, the handwriting was now proved. But a new and serious objection was raised. It was not sufficient to prove that the bishops had written the alleged libel. It was necessary to prove also that they had written it in the county of Middlesex. And not only was it out of the power of the attorney and solicitor to prove this; but it was in the power of the defendants to prove the contrary. For it so happened that Sancroft had never once left the palace at Lambeth from the time when the order in council appeared till after the petition was in the King's hands. The whole case

New objections.

for the prosecution had, therefore, completely broken down; and the audience, with great glee, expected a speedy acquittal.

The prosecution shifts ground.

The crown lawyers then changed their ground again, abandoned altogether the charge of writing a libel, and undertook to prove that the bishops had published a libel in the county of Middlesex. The difficulties were great. The delivery of the petition to the King was undoubtedly, in the eye of the law, a publication. But how was this delivery to be proved? No person had been present at the audience in the royal closet, except the King and the defendants. The King could not be sworn. It was therefore only by the admissions of the defendants that the fact of publication could be established. Blathwayt was again examined, but in vain. He well remembered, he said, that the bishops owned their hands; but he did not remember that they owned the paper which lay on the table of the privy council to be the same paper which they had delivered to the King, or that they were even interrogated on that point. Several other official men who had been in attendance on the council were called, and among them Samuel Pepys, secretary of the Admiralty; but none of them could remember that anything was said about the delivery. It was to no purpose that Williams put leading questions, till the counsel on the other side declared that such twisting, such wiredraw-

Samuel Pepys.

ing, was never seen in a court of justice, and till Wright himself was forced to admit that the solicitor's mode of examination was contrary to all rule. As witness after witness answered in the negative, roars of laughter and shouts of triumph, which the judges did not even attempt to silence, shook the hall.

The case for the crown is closed.

It seemed that at length this hard fight had been won. The case for the crown was closed. Had the counsel for the bishops remained silent, an acquittal was certain; for nothing which the most corrupt and shameless judge could venture to call legal evidence of publication had been given. The Chief-Justice was beginning to charge the jury, and would undoubtedly have directed them to acquit the defendants; but Finch, too anxious to be perfectly discreet, interfered, and begged to be heard. "If you will be heard," said Wright, "you shall be heard; but you do not understand your own interests." The other counsel for the defence made Finch sit down, and begged the Chief-Justice to proceed. He was about to do so when a messenger came to the solicitor-general with news that Lord Sunderland could prove the publication, and would come down to the court immediately. Wright maliciously told the counsel for the defence that they had only themselves to thank for the turn which things had taken. The countenances of the great multitude fell. Finch was, during some hours, the most unpopular man

Finch's indiscretion

in the country. Why could he not sit still as his betters, Sawyer, Pemberton, and Pollexfen, had done? His love of meddling, his ambition to make a fine speech, had ruined everything.

The lord president.

Meanwhile, the lord president was brought in a sedan chair through the hall. Not a hat moved as he passed; and many voices cried out, "Popish dog." He came into court pale and trembling, with eyes fixed on the ground, and gave his evidence in a faltering voice. He swore that the bishops had informed him of their intention to present a petition to the King, and that they had been admitted into the royal closet for that purpose. This circumstance, coupled with the circumstance that, after they left the closet, there was in the King's hands a petition signed by them, was such proof as might reasonably satisfy a jury of the fact of the publication. Publication in Middlesex was then proved. But was the paper thus published a false, malicious, and seditious libel? Hitherto the matter in dispute had been, whether a fact which everybody well knew to be true could be proved according to technical rules of evidence; but now the contest became one of deeper interest. It was necessary to inquire into the limits of prerogative and liberty, into the right of the King to dispense with statutes, into the right of the subject to petition for the redress of grievances. During three hours the counsel

Publication proved.

for the petitioners argued with great force in defence of the fundamental principles of the constitution, and proved from the journals of the House of Commons that the bishops had affirmed no more than the truth when they represented to the King that the dispensing power which he claimed had been repeatedly declared illegal by Parliament. Somers rose last. He spoke little more than five minutes; but every word was full of weighty matter; and when he sat down his reputation as an orator and a constitutional lawyer was established. He went through the expressions which were used in the information to describe the offence imputed to the bishops, and showed that every word, whether adjective or substantive, was altogether inappropriate. The offence imputed was a false, a malicious, a seditious libel. False the paper was not; for every fact which it set forth had been proved from the journals of Parliament to be true. Malicious the paper was not; for the defendants had not sought an occasion of strife, but had been placed by the government in such a situation that they must either oppose themselves to the royal will, or violate the most sacred obligations of conscience and honor. Seditious the paper was not; for it had not been scattered by the writers among the rabble, but delivered privately into the hands of the King alone; and a libel it was not, but a decent petition, such as, by the laws

Somers's weighty argument.

of England, nay, by the laws of imperial Rome, by the laws of all civilized states, a subject who thinks himself aggrieved may with propriety present to the sovereign.

The acrimonious reply.

The attorney replied shortly and feebly. The solicitor spoke at great length and with great acrimony, and was often interrupted by the clamors and hisses of the audience. He went so far as to lay it down that no subject or body of subjects, except the Houses of Parliament, had a right to petition the King. The galleries were furious; and the Chief-Justice himself stood aghast at the effrontery of this venal turncoat.

The evidence is summed up.

At length Wright proceeded to sum up the evidence. His language showed that the awe in which he stood of the government was tempered by the awe with which the audience, so numerous, so splendid, and so strongly excited, had impressed him. He said that he would give no opinion on the question of the dispensing power, that it was not necessary for him to do so, that he could not agree with much of the solicitor's speech, that it was the right of the subject to petition, but that the particular petition before the court was improperly worded, and was, in the contemplation of law, a libel. Allybone was of the same mind, but, in giving his opinion, showed such gross ignorance of law and history as brought on him the contempt of all who heard him. Holloway evaded the question of the dispens-

ing power, but said that the petition seemed to him to be such as subjects who think themselves aggrieved are entitled to present, and therefore no libel. Powell took a bolder course. He declared that, in his judgment, the Declaration of Indulgence was a nullity, and that the dispensing power, as lately exercised, was utterly inconsistent with all law. If these encroachments of prerogative were allowed, there was no need of Parliaments. The whole legislative authority would be in the King. "That issue, gentlemen," he said, "I leave to God and to your consciences."

It was dark before the jury retired to consider of their verdict. The night was a night of intense anxiety. The jury retires.

The solicitor for the bishops sat up all night with a body of servants on the stairs leading to the room where the jury was consulting. It was absolutely necessary to watch the officers who watched the doors; for those officers were supposed to be in the interest of the crown, and might, if not carefully observed, have furnished a courtly juryman with food, which would have enabled him to starve out the other eleven. Strict guard was therefore kept. Not even a candle to light a pipe was permitted to enter. Some basins of water for washing were suffered to pass at about four in the morning. The jurymen, raging with thirst, soon lapped up the whole. Great numbers of people walked the neigh-

boring streets till dawn. Every hour a messenger came from Whitehall to know what was passing. Voices, high in altercation, were repeatedly heard within the room; but nothing certain was known.

At first, nine were for acquitting and three for convicting. Two of the minority soon gave way; but Arnold was obstinate. Thomas Austin, a country gentleman of great estate, who had paid close attention to the evidence and speeches, and had taken full notes, wished to argue the question. Arnold declined. He was not used, he doggedly said, to reasoning and debating. His conscience was not satisfied; and he should not acquit the bishops. "If you come to that," said Austin, "look at me. I am the largest and strongest of the twelve; and before I find such a petition as this a libel, here I will stay till I am no bigger than a tobacco pipe." It was six in the morning before Arnold yielded. It was soon known that the jury were agreed; but what the verdict would be was still a secret.

Arnold's obstinacy.

At ten the court again met. The crowd was greater than ever. The jury appeared in their box; and there was a breathless stillness.

Sir Samuel Astry spoke. "Do you find the defendants, or any of them, guilty of the misdemeanor whereof they are impeached, or not guilty?" Sir Roger Langley answered, "Not guilty." As the words passed his lips, Hali-

The verdict.

fax sprang up and waved his hat. At that signal, benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment ten thousand persons, who crowded the great hall, replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack; and, in another moment, the innumerable throng without set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar. The boats which covered the Thames gave an answering cheer. A peal of gunpowder was heard on the water, and another, and another; and so, in few moments, the glad tidings went flying past the Savoy and the Friars to London Bridge, and to the forest of masts below. As the news spread, streets and squares, market-places and coffee-houses, broke forth into acclamations. Yet were the acclamations less strange than the weeping. For the feelings of men had been wound up to such a point that at length the stern English nature, so little used to outward signs of emotion, gave way, and thousands sobbed aloud for very joy. Meanwhile, from the outskirts of the multitude, horsemen were spurring off to bear along all the great roads intelligence of the victory of our Church and nation. Yet not even that astounding explosion could awe the bitter and intrepid spirit of the solicitor. Striving to make himself heard above the din, he called on the judges to commit those who had violated, by clamor, the dignity of a court of justice. One of the rejoicing populace was

Popular enthusiasm.

seized. But the tribunal felt that it would be absurd to punish a single individual for an offence common to hundreds of thousands, and dismissed him with a gentle reprimand.

It was vain to think of passing at that moment to any other business. Indeed, the roar of the multitude was such that, for half an hour, scarcely a word could be heard in court. Williams got to his coach amid a tempest of hisses and curses.

General rejoicings.

The acquitted prelates took refuge from the crowd which implored their blessing in the nearest chapel where divine service was performing. Many churches were open on that morning throughout the capital; and many pious persons repaired thither. The bells of all the parishes of the city and liberties were ringing. The jury meanwhile could scarcely make their way out of the hall. They were forced to shake hands with hundreds. "God bless you," cried the people; "God prosper your families; you have done like honest good-natured gentlemen. You have saved us all to-day." As the noblemen who had appeared to support the good cause drove off, they flung from their carriage windows handfuls of money, and bade the crowd drink to the health of the bishops and the jury.

James's defeat.

James's defeat had been complete and most humiliating. Had the p[illegible]lates escaped on account of some tec[illegible]ase for the crown, t[illegible]ey had

not written the petition in Middlesex, or because it was impossible to prove, according to the strict rules of law, that they had delivered to the King the paper for which they were called in question, the prerogative would have suffered no shock. Happily for the country, the fact of publication had been fully established. The counsel for the defence had therefore been forced to attack the dispensing power. They had attacked it with great learning, eloquence, and boldness. The advocates of the government had been by universal acknowledgment overmatched in the contest. Not a single judge had ventured to declare that the Declaration of Indulgence was legal. One judge had in the strongest terms pronounced it illegal. The language of the whole town was, that the dispensing power had received a fatal blow.

Tumultuous demonstrations.

That joyful day was followed by a not less joyful night. The bishops, and some of their most respectable friends, in vain exerted themselves to prevent tumultuous demonstrations of joy. Never within the memory of the oldest, not even on that evening on which it was known through London that the army of Scotland had declared for a free Parliament, had the streets been in such a glare with bonfires. Round every bonfire crowds were drinking good health to the bishops and confusion to the Papists. The windows were lighted with rows of candles. Each row con-

sisted of seven; and the taper in the centre, which was taller than the rest, represented the primate. The noise of rockets, squibs, and firearms, was incessant. One huge pile of fagots blazed right in front of the great gate of Whitehall. Others were lighted before the doors of Roman Catholic peers. Lord Arundell of Wardour wisely quieted the mob with a little money; but at Salisbury House, in the Strand, an attempt at resistance was made. Lord Salisbury's servants sallied out and fired; but they killed only the unfortunate beadle of the parish, who had come thither to put out the fire; and they were soon routed and driven back into the house. None of the spectacles of that night interested the common people so much as one with which they had, a few years before, been familiar, and which they now, after a long interval, enjoyed once more—the burning of the Pope.

Bonfires and burning of the Pope.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

(A.D. 1688)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE announcement of the birth of a Prince of Wales was followed ten days after by a formal invitation to William to intervene in arms for the restoration of English liberty and the protection of the Protestant religion; it was signed by the representatives of the great parties now united against a common danger, and by some others, and was carried to the Hague by Herbert, the most popular of English seamen, who had been deprived of his command for a refusal to vote against the Test. The Invitation called on William to land with an army strong enough to justify those who signed it in rising in arms. It was sent from London on the day after the acquittal of the bishops. The general excitement, the shouts of the boats which covered the river, the bonfires in every street, showed indeed that the country was on the eve of revolt. The army itself, on which James had implicitly relied, suddenly showed its sympathy with the people. James was at

Invitation to William.

Hounslow when the news of the verdict reached him, and as he rode from the camp he heard a great shout behind him. "What is that?" he asked. "It is nothing," was the reply, "only the soldiers are glad that the bishops are acquitted!" "Do you call that nothing?" grumbled the King. The shout told him that he stood utterly alone in his realm. The peerage, the gentry, the bishops, the clergy, the universities, every lawyer, every trader, every farmer, stood aloof from him. And now his very soldiers forsook him. The most devoted Catholics pressed him to give way. But to give way was to change the whole nature of his government. All show of legal rule had disappeared. Sheriffs, mayors, magistrates, appointed by the crown in defiance of a parliamentary statute, were no real officers in the eye of the law. Even if the Houses were summoned, members returned by officers such as these could form no legal Parliament. Hardly a minister of the crown or a privy councillor exercised any lawful authority. James had brought things to such a pass that the restoration of legal government meant the absolute reversal of every act he had done. But he was in no mood to reverse his acts. His temper was only spurred to a more dogged obstinacy by danger and remonstrance. He broke up the camp at Hounslow and dispersed its troops in distant cantonments. He dismissed the two judges who had favored the ac-

The national discontent.

James's obstinacy.

quittal of the bishops. He ordered the chancellor of each diocese to report the names of the clergy who had not read the Declaration of Indulgence. But his will broke fruitlessly against the sullen resistance which met him on every side. Not a chancellor made a return to the Commissioners, and the Commissioners were cowed into inaction by the temper of the nation. When the judges who had displayed their servility to the crown went on circuit the gentry refused to meet them. A yet fiercer irritation was kindled by the King's resolve to supply the place of the English troops, whose temper proved unserviceable for his purposes, by drafts from the Catholic army which Tyrconnel had raised in Ireland. Even the Roman Catholic peers at the Council table protested against this measure; and six officers in a single regiment laid down their commissions rather than enroll the Irish recruits among their men. The ballad of "Lillibullero," a scurrilous attack on the Irish recruits, was sung from one end of England to the other.

James uses Irish troops

An outbreak of revolt was, in fact, inevitable. William was straining all his resources to gather a fleet and sufficient forces, while noble after noble made their way to the Hague. The Earl of Shrewsbury brought £2,000 toward the expenses of the expedition. Edward Russell, the representative of the Whig Earl of Bedford, was followed by the

The nobles join William.

representatives of great Tory houses, by the sons of the Marquis of Winchester, of Lord Danby, of Lord Peterborough, and by the High Church Lord Macclesfield. At home, the Earls of Danby and Devonshire prepared silently with Lord Lumley for a rising in the North. In spite of the profound secrecy with which all was conducted, the keen instinct of Sunderland, who had stooped to purchase continuance in office at the price of a secret apostasy to Catholicism, detected the preparations of William; and the sense that his master's ruin was at hand encouraged him to tell every secret of James on the promise of a pardon for the crimes to which he had lent himself. James alone remained stubborn and insensate as of old. He had no fear of a revolt unaided by the Prince of Orange, and he believed that the threat of a French attack on Holland would render William's departure impossible. But in September the long-delayed war began, and by the greatest political error of his reign, Lewis threw his forces not on Holland, but on Germany. The Dutch at once felt themselves secure; the states-general gave their sanction to William's project, and the armament he had prepared gathered rapidly in the Scheldt. The news no sooner reached England than the King passed from obstinacy to panic. By drafts from Scotland and Ireland he had mustered forty thousand men, but the temper of the troops robbed him of all

Lewis attacks Germany.

trust in them. Help from France was now out of the question. He could only fall back on the older policy of a union with the Tory party and the party of the Church. He personally appealed for support to the bishops. He dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. He replaced the magistrates he had driven from office. He restored their franchises to the towns. The Chancellor carried back the Charter of London in state into the city. The Bishop of Winchester was sent to replace the expelled Fellows of Magdalen. Catholic chapels and Jesuit schools were ordered to be closed. Sunderland pressed for the instant calling of a Parliament, but to James the counsel seemed treachery, and he dismissed Sunderland from office. In answer to a declaration from the Prince of Orange, which left the question of the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales to Parliament, he produced before the peers who were in London proofs of the birth of his child. But concessions and proofs came too late. Detained by ill winds, beaten back on its first venture by a violent storm, William's fleet of six hundred transports, escorted by fifty men-of-war, anchored, on the fifth of November, in Torbay; and his army, thirteen thousand men strong, entered Exeter amid the shouts of its citizens. His coming had not been looked for in the West, and for a week no great landowner joined him. But nobles and squires soon flocked to his camp, and the

James is panic-stricken.

Sunderland is dismissed.

adhesion of Plymouth secured his rear. Insurrection broke out in Scotland. Danby, dashing at the head of a hundred horsemen into York, gave the signal for a rising. The militia met his appeal with shouts of "A free Parliament and the Protestant religion!" Peers and gentry flocked to his standard; and a march on Nottingham united his forces to those under Devonshire, who had mustered at Derby the great lords of the midland and eastern counties. Everywhere the revolt was triumphant. The garrison of Hull declared for a free Parliament. The Duke of Norfolk appeared at the head of three hundred gentlemen in the market-place at Norwich. At Oxford townsmen and gownsmen greeted Lord Lovelace with uproarious welcome. Bristol threw open its gates to the Prince of Orange, who advanced steadily on Salisbury, where James had mustered his forces. But the King's army, broken by dissensions and mutual suspicions among its leaders, fell back in disorder; and the desertion of Lord Churchill was followed by that of so many other officers that James abandoned the struggle in despair. He fled to London to hear that his daughter Anne had left St. James's to join Danby at Nottingham. "God help me," cried the wretched King, "for my own children have forsaken me!" His spirit was utterly broken; and though he promised to call the Houses together, and despatched commissioners to

The rising in the North

Flight of James.

Hungerford to treat with William on the terms of a free Parliament, in his heart he had resolved on flight. Parliament, he said to the few who still clung to him, would force on him concessions he could not endure; and he only waited for news of the escape of his wife and child to make his way to the Isle of Sheppey, where a hoy lay ready to carry him to France. Some rough fishermen, who took him for a Jesuit, prevented his escape, and a troop of Life Guards brought him back in safety to London: but it was the policy of William and his advisers to further a flight which removed their chief difficulty out of the way. It would have been hard to depose James had he remained, and perilous to keep him prisoner: but the entry of the Dutch troops into London, the silence of the Prince, and an order to leave St. James's, filled the King with fresh terrors, and, taking advantage of the means of escape which were almost openly placed at his disposal, James a second time quitted London, and embarked on the 23d of December unhindered for France.

He is captured.

His final departure.

Before flying James had burnt most of the writs convoking the new Parliament, had disbanded his army, and destroyed so far as he could all means of government. For a few days there was a wild burst of panic and outrage in London, but the orderly instinct of the people soon reasserted itself. The Lords who were at the moment in London provided on

their own authority as Privy Councillors for the more pressing needs of administration, and resigned their authority into William's hands on his arrival. The difficulty which arose from the absence of any person legally authorized to call Parliament together was got over by convoking the House of Peers, and forming a second body of all members who had sat in the Commons in the reign of Charles the Second, with the Aldermen and Common Councillors of London. Both bodies requested William to take on himself the provisional government of the kingdom, and to issue circular letters inviting the electors of every town and county to send up representatives to a Convention which met in January, 1689. In the new Convention both Houses were found equally resolved against any recall of or negotiation with the fallen King. They were united in intrusting a provisional authority to the Prince of Orange. But with this step their unanimity ended. The Whigs, who formed a majority in the Commons, voted a resolution which, illogical and inconsistent as it seemed, was well adapted to unite in its favor every element of the opposition to James: the Churchman who was simply scared by his bigotry, the Tory who doubted the right of a nation to depose its King, the Whig who held the theory of a contract between King and People. They voted that King James, "having endeavored to sub-

The Convention.

The Whigs Resolution.

vert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and People, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." But in the Lords, where the Tories were still in the ascendant, the resolution was fiercely debated. Archbishop Sancroft with the high Tories held that no crime could bring about a forfeiture of the crown, and that James still remained King, but that his tyranny had given the nation a right to withdraw from him the actual exercise of government and to intrust his functions to a Regency. The moderate Tories under Danby's guidance admitted that James had ceased to be king, but denied that the throne could be vacant, and contended that from the moment of his abdication the sovereignty vested in his daughter Mary. It was in vain that the eloquence of Halifax backed the Whig peers in struggling for the resolution of the Commons as it stood. The plan of a Regency was lost by a single vote, and Danby's scheme was adopted by a large majority. But both the Tory courses found a sudden obstacle in William. He declined to be Regent. He had no mind, he said to Danby, to be his wife's gentleman-usher. Mary, on the other hand, refused to accept the crown save in conjunction with her hus-

Opposition to the "Lords."

William and Mary.

band. The two declarations put an end to the question. It was agreed that William and Mary should be acknowledged as joint sovereigns, but that the actual administration should rest with William alone. A Parliamentary committee in which the most active member was John Somers, a young lawyer who had distinguished himself in the trial of the bishops and who was destined to play a great part in later history, drew up a Declaration of Rights which was presented on February 13th to William and Mary by the two Houses in the banqueting-room at Whitehall. It recited the misgovernment of James, his abdication, and the resolve of the Lords and Commons to assert the ancient rights and liberties of English subjects. It condemned as illegal his establishment of an ecclesiastical commission, and his raising an army without Parliamentary sanction. It denied the right of any king to suspend or dispense with laws, or to exact money, save by consent of Parliament. It asserted for the subject a right to petition, to a free choice of representatives in Parliament, and to a pure and merciful administration of justice. It declared the right of both Houses to liberty of debate. It demanded securities for the free exercise of their religion by all Protestants, and bound the new sovereign to maintain the Protestant religion and the law and liberties of the realm. In full faith that these principles would be ac-

Declaration of Rights.

cepted and maintained by William and Mary, it ended with declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England. At the close of the Declaration, Halifax, in the name of the Estates of the Realm, prayed them to receive the crown. William accepted the offer in his own name and his wife's, and declared in a few words the resolve of both to maintain the laws and to govern by advice of Parliament.

William accepts the crown for himself and Mary.

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

(A.D. 1690)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

ON the 24th of June, the tenth day after William's landing, he marched southward from Loughbrickland with all his forces. He was fully determined to take the first opportunity of fighting. Schomberg and some other officers recommended caution and delay. But the King answered that he had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. The event seems to prove that he judged rightly as a general. That he judged rightly as a statesman can not be doubted. He knew that the English nation was discontented with the way in which the war had hitherto been conducted; that nothing but rapid and splendid success could revive the enthusiasm of his friends and quell the spirit of his enemies; and that a defeat could scarcely be more injurious to his fame and to his interests than a languid and indecisive campaign.

William determines upon immediate fighting.

The original intention of James seems to have been to try the chances of a pitched field on the border between Leinster and Ulster.

But this design was abandoned, in consequence, apparently, of the representations of Lauzun, who, though very little disposed and very little qualified to conduct a campaign on the Fabian system, had the admonitions of Louvois still in his ears. James, though resolved not to give up Dublin without a battle, consented to retreat till he should reach some spot where he might have the vantage of ground. When therefore William's advanced guard reached Dundalk, nothing was to be seen of the Irish army, except a great cloud of dust which was slowly rolling southward toward Ardee. The English halted one night near the ground on which Schomberg's camp had been pitched in the preceding year; and many sad recollections were awakened by the sight of that dreary marsh, the sepulchre of thousands of brave men.

James retreats.

Still William continued to push forward, and still the Irish receded before him, till, on the morning of Monday, the 30th of June, his army, marching in three columns, reached the summit of a rising ground near the southern frontier of the county of Louth. Beneath lay a valley, now so rich and so cheerful that the Englishman who gazes on it may imagine himself to be in one of the most highly favored parts of his own highly favored country. Fields of wheat, woodlands, meadows bright with daisies and clover, slope gently down to the edge of the Boyne.

William advances to the valley of the Boyne.

When William caught sight of the valley of the Boyne, he could not repress an exclamation and a gesture of delight. He had been apprehensive that the enemy would avoid a decisive action, and would protract the war till the autumnal rains should return with pestilence in their train. He was now at ease. It was plain that the contest would be sharp and short. The pavilion of James was pitched on the eminence of Donore. The flags of the House of Stuart and of the House of Bourbon waved together in defiance on the walls of Drogheda. All the southern bank of the river was lined by the camp and batteries of the hostile army. Thousands of armed men were moving about among the tents; and every one, horse soldier or foot soldier, French or Irish, had a white badge in his hat. That color had been chosen in compliment to the House of Bourbon. "I am glad to see you, gentlemen," said the King, as his keen eye surveyed the Irish lines. "If you escape me now, the fault will be mine."

James at Donore

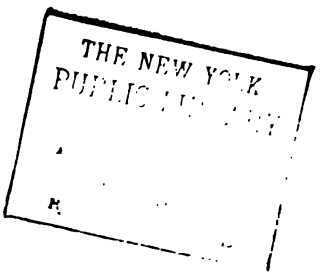
Each of the contending princes had some advantages over his rival. James, standing on the defensive, behind intrenchments, with a river before him, had the stronger position; but his troops were inferior both in number and in quality to those which were opposed to him. He probably had thirty thousand men. About a third part of this force consisted of excellent French infantry and excel-

Respective advantages

Battle of the Boyne

A.D. 1690

From Painting by West


THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

lent Irish cavalry. But the rest of his army was the scoff of all Europe. The Irish dragoons were bad; the Irish infantry worse. It was said that their ordinary way of fighting was to discharge their pieces once, and then to run away bawling "Quarter" and "Murder." Their inefficiency was, in that age, commonly imputed, both by their enemies and by their allies, to natural poltroonery. How little ground there was for such an imputation has since been signally proved by many heroic achievements in every part of the globe. It ought, indeed, even in the Seventeenth Century, to have occurred to reasonable men that a race which furnished some of the best horse soldiers in the world would certainly, with judicious training, furnish good foot soldiers. But the Irish foot soldiers had not merely not been well trained: they had been elaborately ill trained. The greatest of our generals repeatedly and emphatically declared that even the admirable army which fought its way, under his command, from Torres Vedras to Toulouse, would, if he had suffered it to contract habits of pillage, have become, in a few weeks, unfit for all military purposes. What then was likely to be the character of troops who, from the day on which they enlisted, were not merely permitted, but invited, to supply the deficiencies of pay by marauding? They were, as might have been expected, a mere mob, furious in-

The Irish troops.

Wellington's opinion.

deed and clamorous in their zeal for the cause which they had espoused, but incapable of opposing a steadfast resistance to a well ordered force.

William's army.

William had under his command near thirty-six thousand men, born in many lands, and speaking many tongues. Scarcely one Protestant Church, scarcely one Protestant nation, was unrepresented in the army which a strange series of events had brought to fight for the Protestant religion in the remotest island of the west. About half of the troops were natives of England. Among the foreign auxiliaries were a Brandenburg regiment and a Finland regiment. But in that great array, so variously composed, were two bodies of men animated by a spirit peculiarly fierce and implacable, the Huguenots of France thirsting for the blood of the French, and the Englishry of Ireland impatient to trample down the Irish.

Schomberg's opposition.

The King's resolution to attack the Irish was not approved by all his lieutenants. Schomberg, in particular, pronounced the experiment too hazardous, and, when his opinion was overruled, retired to his tent in no very good humor. When the order of battle was delivered to him, he muttered that he had been more used to give such orders than to receive them. For this little fit of sullenness, very pardonable in a general who had won great victories when his master was

still a child, the brave veteran made, on the following morning, a noble atonement.

The first manœuvre.

The 1st of July dawned, a day which has never since returned without exciting strong emotions of very different kinds in the two populations which divide Ireland. The sun rose bright and cloudless. Soon after four both armies were in motion. William ordered his right wing, under the command of Meinhart Schomberg, one of the Duke's sons, to march to the bridge of Slane, some miles up the river, to cross there, and to turn the left flank of the Irish army. Meinhart Schomberg was assisted by Portland and Douglas. James, anticipating some such design, had already sent to the bridge a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Sir Neil O'Neil. O'Neil behaved himself like a brave gentleman: but he soon received a mortal wound: his men fled; and the English right wing passed the river.

The First of July.

Lauzun's apprehensions.

This move made Lauzun uneasy. What if the English right wing should get into the rear of the army of James? About four miles south of the Boyne was a place called Duleek, where the road to Dublin was so narrow that two cars could not pass each other, and where on both sides of the road lay a morass which afforded no firm footing. If Meinhart Schomberg should occupy this spot, it would be impossible for the Irish to retreat. They must either conquer, or be cut off to a man.

Disturbed by this apprehension, the French general marched with his countrymen and with Sarsfield's horse in the direction of Slane Bridge. Thus the fords near Oldbridge were left to be defended by the Irish alone.

It was now near ten o'clock. William put himself at the head of his left wing, which was composed exclusively of cavalry, and prepared to pass the river not far above Drogheda. The centre of his army, which consisted almost exclusively of foot, was intrusted to the command of Schomberg, and was marshalled opposite to Oldbridge. At Oldbridge the whole Irish infantry had been collected. The Meath bank bristled with pikes and bayonets. A fortification had been made by French engineers out of the hedges and buildings; and a breastwork had been thrown up close to the water side. Tyrconnel was there; and under him were Richard Hamilton and Antrim.

The cavalry advances.

Schomberg gave the word. Solmes's Blues were the first to move. They marched gallantly, with drums beating, to the brink of the Boyne. Then the drums stopped; and the men, ten abreast, descended into the water. Next plunged Londonderry and Enniskillen. A little to the left of Londonderry and Enniskillen, Caillemot crossed, at the head of a long column of French refugees. A little to the left of Caillemot and his refugees, the main body of the English infantry struggled

Schomberg's attack.

through the river, up to their armpits in water. Still further down the stream the Danes found another ford. In a few minutes the Boyne, for a quarter of a mile, was alive with muskets and green boughs. The army fords the Boyne.

It was not till the assailants had reached the middle of the channel that they became aware of the whole difficulty and danger of the service in which they were engaged. They had as yet seen little more than half the hostile army. Now whole regiments of foot and horse seemed to start out of the earth. A wild shout of defiance rose from the whole shore: during one moment the event seemed doubtful: but the Protestants pressed resolutely forward; and in another moment the whole Irish line gave way. Tyrconnel looked on in helpless despair. Several of his best officers fell while vainly endeavoring to prevail on their soldiers to look the Dutch Blues in the face. Richard Hamilton ordered a body of foot to fall on the French refugees, who were still deep in water. He led the way, and, accompanied by several courageous gentlemen, advanced, sword in hand, into the river. But neither his commands nor his example could infuse courage into that mob of cowstealers. He was left almost alone, and retired from the bank in despair. Further down the river Antrim's division ran like sheep at the approach of the English column. Whole regiments flung away arms, colors and cloaks, and scam- Perilous service. Flight of the Irish.

pered off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot.

It required many years and many heroic exploits to take away the reproach which that ignominious rout left on the Irish name. Yet, even before the day closed, it was abundantly proved that the reproach was unjust. Richard Hamilton put himself at the head of the cavalry, and, under his command, they made a gallant though an unsuccessful attempt to retrieve the day. They maintained a desperate fight in the bed of the river with Solmes's Blues. They drove the Danish brigade back into the stream. They fell impetuously on the Huguenot regiments, which, not being provided with pikes, then ordinarily used by foot to repel horse, began to give ground. Caillemot, while encouraging his fellow exiles, received a mortal wound in the thigh. Four of his men carried him back across the ford to his tent. As he passed, he continued to urge forward the rear ranks which were still up to the breast in the water. "On; on; my lads: to glory; to glory." Schomberg, who had remained on the northern bank, and who had thence watched the progress of his troops with the eye of a general, now thought that the emergency required from him the personal exertion of a soldier. Those who stood about him besought him in vain to put on his cuirass. Without defensive armor he rode through the river, and rallied the refu-

Hamilton's gallantry.

Caillemot's bravery.

gees whom the fall of Caillemot had dismayed. "Come on," he cried in French, pointing to the Popish squadrons; "Come on, gentlemen: there are your persecutors." Those were his last words. As he spoke, a band of Irish horsemen rushed upon him and encircled him for a moment. When they retired, he was on the ground. His friends raised him; but he was already a corpse. Two sabre wounds were on his head; and a bullet from a carbine was lodged in his neck. Almost at the same moment Walker, while exhorting the colonists of Ulster to play the man, was shot dead. During near half an hour the battle continued to rage along the southern shore of the river. All was smoke, dust and din. Old soldiers were heard to say that they had seldom seen sharper work in the Low Countries. But, just at this conjuncture, William came up with the left wing. He had found much difficulty in crossing. The tide was running fast. His charger had been forced to swim, and had been almost lost in the mud. As soon as the King was on firm ground he took his sword in his left hand,—for his right arm was stiff with his wound and his bandage,—and led his men to the place where the fight was the hottest. His arrival decided the fate of the day. Yet the Irish horse retired fighting obstinately. The Irish cavalry made their last stand at a house called Plottin Castle, about a mile and a half south of Oldbridge.

Death of Schomberg.

Arrival of the left wing.

The last stand.

There the Enniskilleners were repelled with the loss of fifty men, and were hotly pursued, till William rallied them and turned the chase back.

And now the battle was over. Hamilton was mistaken in thinking that his horse would continue to fight. Whole troops had been cut to pieces. One fine regiment had only thirty unwounded men left. It was enough that these gallant soldiers had disputed the field till they were left without support, without hope, without guidance, till their bravest leader was a captive, and till their King had fled.

James's cowardice.

Whether James had owed his early reputation for valor to accident and flattery, or whether, as he advanced in life, his character underwent a change, may be doubted. But it is certain that, in his youth, he was generally believed to possess not merely that average measure of fortitude which qualifies a soldier to go through a campaign without disgrace, but that high and serene intrepidity which is the virtue of great commanders. It is equally certain that, in his later years, he repeatedly, at conjunctures such as have often inspired timorous and delicate women with heroic courage, showed a pusillanimous anxiety about his personal safety. Of the most powerful motives which can induce human beings to encounter peril, none was wanting to him on the day of the Boyne. The eyes of his

contemporaries and of posterity, of friends devoted to his cause and of enemies eager to witness his humiliation, were fixed upon him. He had, in his own opinion, sacred rights to maintain and cruel wrongs to revenge. He was a King come to fight for three kingdoms. He was a father come to fight for the birthright of his child. He was a zealous Roman Catholic, come to fight in the holiest of crusades. If all this was not enough, he saw, from the secure position which he occupied on the height of Donore, a sight which, it might have been thought, would have roused the most torpid of mankind to emulation. He saw his rival, weak, sickly, wounded, swimming the river, struggling through the mud, leading the charge, stopping the flight, grasping the sword with the left hand, managing the bridle with a bandaged arm. But none of these things moved that sluggish and ignoble nature. He watched, from a safe distance, the beginning of the battle on which his fate and the fate of his race depended. When it became clear that the day was going against Ireland, he was seized with an apprehension that his flight might be intercepted, and galloped toward Dublin. He was escorted by a bodyguard under the command of Sarsfield, who had, on that day, had no opportunity of displaying the skill and courage which his enemies allowed that he possessed. The French auxiliaries, who had been employed the whole

William's heroism.

morning in keeping William's right wing in check, covered the flight of the beaten army. They were, indeed, in some danger of being broken and swept away by the torrent of runaways, all pressing to get first to the pass of Duleek, and were forced to fire repeatedly on these despicable allies. The retreat was, however, effected with less loss than might have been expected. For even the admirers of William owned that he did not show in the pursuit the energy which even his detractors acknowledged that he had shown in the battle. Perhaps his physical infirmities, his hurt, and the fatigue which he had undergone, had made him incapable of bodily or mental exertion. Of the last forty hours he had passed thirty-five on horseback. Schomberg, who might have supplied his place, was no more. It was said in the camp that the King could not do everything, and that what was not done by him was not done at all.

The retreat.

The slaughter had been less than on any battlefield of equal importance and celebrity. Of the Irish only about fifteen hundred had fallen; but they were almost all cavalry, the flower of the army, brave and well disciplined men, whose place could not easily be supplied. William gave strict orders that there should be no unnecessary bloodshed, and enforced those orders by an act of laudable severity. One of his soldiers, after the fight was over, butchered three defenceless Irishmen who

Small losses.

asked for quarter. The King ordered the murderer to be hanged on the spot.

The loss of the conquerors did not exceed five hundred men; but among them was the first captain in Europe. To his corpse every honor was paid. The only cemetery in which so illustrious a warrior, slain in arms for the liberties and religion of England, could properly be laid was that venerable Abbey, hallowed by the dust of many generations of princes, heroes and poets. It was announced that the brave veteran should have a public funeral at Westminster. In the meantime his corpse was embalmed with such skill as could be found in the camp, and was deposited in a leaden coffin.

Honors paid to Schomberg

[In 1690, the siege of Limerick occurs; the battle of Fleurus takes place; England and Holland induce the Duke of Savoy to grant toleration to Protestants; in 1691, Limerick surrenders and hostilities cease in Ireland; Mons surrenders to the French, who storm Barcelona and Alicant; and Prince Louis of Baden defeats the Turks.]

THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE

(A.D. 1692)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

MEANWHILE the Master of Stair was forming, in concert with Breadalbane and Argyle, a plan for the destruction of the people of Glencoe. It was necessary to take the King's pleasure, not, indeed, as to the details of what was to be done, but as to the question whether Mac Ian and his people should or should not be treated as rebels out of the pale of the ordinary law. The Master of Stair found no difficulty in the royal closet. William had, in all probability, never heard the Glencoe men mentioned except as banditti. He knew that they had not come in by the prescribed day. That they had come in after that day he did not know. If he paid any attention to the matter, he must have thought that so fair an opportunity of putting an end to the devastations and depredations from which a quiet and industrious population had suffered so much ought not to be lost.

William's responsibility.

An order was laid before him for signature.

(1464)

He signed it, but, if Burnet may be trusted, did not read it. Whoever has seen anything of public business knows that princes and ministers daily sign, and indeed must sign, documents which they have not read: and of all documents a document relating to a small tribe of mountaineers, living in a wilderness not set down in any map, was least likely to interest a sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend. But, even on the supposition that he read the order to which he affixed his name, there seems to be no reason for blaming him. That order, directed to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, runs thus: "As for Mac Ian of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves." These words naturally bear a sense perfectly innocent, and would, but for the horrible event which followed, have been universally understood in that sense. It is undoubtedly one of the first duties of every government to extirpate gangs of thieves. This does not mean that every thief ought to be treacherously assassinated in his sleep, or even that every thief ought to be publicly executed after a fair trial, but that every gang, as a gang, ought to be completely broken up, and that whatever severity is indispensably necessary for that end ought to be used. If

The order.

One of the first duties of government.

William's understanding.

William had read and weighed the words which were submitted to him by his secretary, he would probably have understood them to mean that Glencoe was to be occupied by troops, that resistance, if resistance were attempted, was to be put down with a strong hand, that severe punishment was to be inflicted on those leading members of the clan who could be proved to have been guilty of great crimes, that some active young freebooters, who were more used to handle the broadsword than the plow, and who did not seem likely to settle down into quiet laborers, were to be sent to the army in the Low Countries, that others were to be transported to the American plantations, and that those Macdonalds who were suffered to remain in their native valley were to be disarmed and required to give hostages for good behavior. A plan very nearly resembling this had, we know, actually been the subject of much discussion in the political circles of Edinburgh. There can be little doubt that William would have deserved well of his people if he had, in this manner, extirpated not only the tribe of Mac Ian, but every Highland tribe whose calling was to steal cattle and burn houses.

The Master of Stair's plan.

The extirpation planned by the Master of Stair was of a different kind. His design was to butcher the whole race of thieves, the whole damnable race. Such was the language in which his hatred vented itself. He studied

the geography of the wild country which surrounded Glencoe, and made his arrangements with infernal skill. If possible, the blow must be quick, and crushing, and altogether unexpected. But if Mac Ian should apprehend danger and should attempt to take refuge in the territories of his neighbors, he must find every road barred. The pass of Rannoch must be secured. The Laird of Weems, who was powerful in Strath Tay, must be told that, if he harbors the outlaws, he does so at his peril. Breadalbane promised to cut off the retreat of the fugitives on one side, Mac Callum More on another. It was fortunate, the secretary wrote, that it was winter. This was the time to maul the wretches. The nights were so long, the mountain tops so cold and stormy, that even the hardiest men could not long bear exposure to the open air without a roof or a spark of fire. That the women and children could find shelter in the desert was quite impossible. While he wrote thus, no thought that he was committing a great wickedness crossed his mind. He was happy in the approbation of his own conscience. Duty, justice, nay charity and mercy, were the names under which he disguised his cruelty; nor is it by any means improbable that the disguise imposed upon himself.

Breadalbane's willingness

Hill, who commanded the forces assembled at Fort William, was not intrusted with the

execution of the design. He seems to have been a humane man; he was much distressed when he learned that the government was determined on severity; and it was probably thought that his heart might fail him in the most critical moment. He was directed to put a strong detachment under the orders of his second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton. To Hamilton a significant hint was conveyed that he had now an excellent opportunity of establishing his character in the estimation of those who were at the head of affairs. Of the troops intrusted to him a large proportion were Campbells, and belonged to a regiment lately raised by Argyle, and called by Argyle's name. It was probably thought that, on such an occasion, humanity might prove too strong for the mere habit of military obedience, and that little reliance could be placed on hearts which had not been ulcerated by a feud such as had long raged between the people of Mac Ian and the people of Mac Callum More.

Hill's humanity.

Had Hamilton marched openly against the Glencoe men and put them to the edge of the sword, the act would probably not have wanted apologists, and most certainly would not have wanted precedents. But the Master of Stair had strongly recommended a different mode of proceeding. If the least alarm were given, the nest of robbers would be found empty; and to hunt them down in so

Hamilton's instructions

wild a region would, even with all the help that Breadalbane and Argyle could give, be a long and difficult business. "Better," he wrote, "not meddle with them than meddle to no purpose. When the thing is resolved, let it be secret and sudden." He was obeyed; and it was determined that the Glencoe men should perish, not by military execution, but by the most dastardly and perfidious form of assassination.

Extermination by assassination.

On the first of February a hundred and twenty soldiers of Argyle's regiment, commanded by a captain named Campbell and a lieutenant named Lindsay, marched to Glencoe. Captain Campbell was commonly called in Scotland Glenlyon, from the pass in which his property lay. He had every qualification for the service on which he was employed, an unblushing forehead, a smooth lying tongue, and a heart of adamant. He was also one of the few Campbells who were likely to be trusted and welcomed by the Macdonalds; for his niece was married to Alexander, the second son of Mac Ian.

Campbell's treachery.

The sight of the red coats approaching caused some anxiety among the population of the valley. John, the eldest son of the chief, came, accompanied by twenty clansmen, to meet the strangers, and asked what this visit meant. Lieutenant Lindsay answered that the soldiers came as friends, and wanted nothing but quarters. They were kindly re-

Reception of the military.

ceived, and were lodged under the thatched roofs of the little community. Glenlyon and several of his men were taken into the house of a tacksman who was named, from the cluster of cabins over which he exercised authority, Inverriggen. Lindsay was accommodated nearer to the abode of the old chief. Auchintriater, one of the principal men of the clan, who governed the small hamlet of Auchnaion, found room there for a party commanded by a sergeant named Barbour. Provisions were liberally supplied. There was no want of beef, which had probably fattened in distant pastures; nor was any payment demanded: for in hospitality, as in thievery, the Gaelic marauders rivalled the Bedouins. During twelve days the soldiers

Highland hospitality.

lived familiarly with the people of the glen. Old Mac Ian, who had before felt many misgivings as to the relation in which he stood to the government, seems to have been pleased with the visit. The officers passed much of their time with him and his family. The long evenings were cheerfully spent by the peat fire with the help of some packs of cards which had found their way to that remote corner of the world, and of some French brandy which was probably part of James's farewell gift to his Highland supporters. Glenlyon appeared to be warmly attached to his niece and her husband Alexander. Every day he came to their house to take his morn-

ing draught. Meanwhile he observed with minute attention all the avenues by which, when the signal for the slaughter should be given, the Macdonalds might attempt to escape to the hills; and he reported the result of his observations to Hamilton.

Hamilton's arrangements.

Hamilton fixed five o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth of February for the deed. He hoped that, before that time, he should reach Glencoe with four hundred men, and should have stopped all the earths in which the old fox and his two cubs,—so Mac Ian and his sons were nicknamed by the murderers,—could take refuge. But, at five precisely, whether Hamilton had arrived or not, Glenlyon was to fall on, and to slay every Macdonald under seventy.

The night was rough. Hamilton and his troops made slow progress, and were long after their time. While they were contending with the wind and snow, Glenlyon was supping and playing at cards with those whom he meant to butcher before daybreak. He and Lieutenant Lindsay had engaged themselves to dine with the old chief on the morrow.

Suspicions of evil.

Late in the evening a vague suspicion that some evil was intended crossed the mind of the chief's eldest son. The soldiers were evidently in a restless state; and some of them uttered strange cries. Two men, it is said, were overheard whispering. "I do not like this job," one of them muttered: "I should be glad

to fight the Macdonalds. But to kill men in their beds—" "We must do as we are bid," answered another voice. "If there is anything wrong, then our officers must answer for it."

John Macdonald was so uneasy that, soon after midnight, he went to Glenlyon's quarters. Glenlyon and his men were all up, and seemed to be getting their arms ready for action. John, much alarmed, asked what these preparations meant. Glenlyon was profuse of friendly assurances. "Some of Glengarry's people have been harrying the country. We are getting ready to march against them. You are quite safe. Do you think that, if you were in any danger, I should not have given a hint to your brother Sandy and his wife?" John's suspicions were quieted. He returned to his house, and lay down to rest.

It was five in the morning. Hamilton and his men were still some miles off; and the avenues which they were to have secured were open. But the orders which Glenlyon had received were precise; and he began to execute them at the little village where he was himself quartered. His host, Inverriggen, and nine other Macdonalds, were dragged out of their beds, bound hand and foot, and murdered. A boy twelve years old clung round the captain's legs, and begged hard for life. He would do anything: he would go anywhere: he would follow Glenlyon round the

The massacre.

world. Even Glenlyon, it is said, showed signs of relenting: but a ruffian named Drummond shot the child dead.

At Auchnaion the tacksman Auchintriater was up early that morning, and was sitting with eight of his family round the fire, when a volley of musketry laid him and seven of his companions dead or dying on the floor. His brother, who alone had escaped unhurt, called to Sergeant Barbour, who commanded the slayers, and asked as a favor to be allowed to die in the open air. "Well," said the Sergeant, "I will do you that favor for the sake of your meat which I have eaten." The mountaineer, bold, athletic, and favored by the darkness, came forth, rushed on the soldiers who were about to level their pieces at him, flung his plaid over their faces, and was gone in a moment.

Escape of Auchintriater.

Meanwhile Lindsay had knocked at the door of the old chief and had asked for admission in friendly language. The door was opened. Mac Ian, while putting on his clothes and calling to his servants to bring some refreshments for his visitors, was shot through the head. Two of his attendants were slain with him. His wife was already up and dressed in such finery as the princesses of the rude Highland glens were accustomed to wear. The assassins pulled off her clothes and trinkets. The rings were not easily taken from her fingers: but a soldier

Death of the chief.

tore them away with his teeth. She died on the following day.

Blunders of the assassins.

The statesman to whom chiefly this great crime is to be ascribed had planned it with consummate ability: but the execution was complete in nothing but in guilt and infamy. A succession of blunders saved three-fourths of the Glencoe men from the fate of their chief. All the moral qualities which fit men to bear a part in a massacre Hamilton and Glenlyon possessed in perfection. But neither seems to have had much professional skill. Hamilton had arranged his plan without making allowance for bad weather, and this in a country and at a season when the weather was very likely to be bad. The consequence was that the fox earths, as he called them, were not stopped in time. Glenlyon and his men committed the error of despatching their hosts with firearms instead of using the cold steel. The peal and flash of gun after gun gave notice, from three different parts of the valley at once, that murder was doing. From fifty cottages the half naked peasantry fled under cover of the night to the recesses of their pathless glen. Even the sons of Mac Ian, who had been especially marked out for destruction, contrived to escape. They were roused from sleep by faithful servants. John, who, by the death of his father, had become the patriarch of the tribe, quitted his dwelling just as twenty soldiers, with fixed bayonets,

Escape of Macdonalds.

marched up to it. It was broad day long before Hamilton arrived. He found the work not even half performed. About thirty corpses lay wallowing in blood on the dunghills before the doors. One or two women were seen among the number, and, a yet more fearful and piteous sight, a little hand, which had been lopped in the tumult of the butchery from some infant. One aged Macdonald was found alive. He was probably too infirm to fly, and, as he was above seventy, was not included in the orders under which Glenlyon had acted. Hamilton murdered the old man in cold blood. The deserted hamlets were then set on fire; and the troops departed, driving away with them many sheep and goats, nine hundred kine, and two hundred of the small, shaggy ponies of the Highlands.

Sufferings of the fugitives.

It is said, and may but too easily be believed, that the sufferings of the fugitives were terrible. How many old men, how many women with babes in their arms, sank down and slept their last sleep in the snow; how many having crawled, spent with toil and hunger, into nooks among the precipices, died in those dark holes, and were picked to the bone by the mountain ravens, can never be known. But it is probable that those who perished by cold, weariness and want were not less numerous than those who were slain by the assassins. When the troops had retired, the Macdonalds crept out of the caverns of Glencoe, ventured

back to the spot where the huts had formerly stood, collected the scorched corpses from among the smoking ruins, and performed some rude rites of sepulture. The tradition runs that the hereditary bard of the tribe took his seat on a rock which overhung the place of slaughter, and poured forth a long lament over his murdered brethren and his desolate home. Eighty years later that sad dirge was still repeated by the population of the valley.

The death dirge.

The survivors might well apprehend that they had escaped the shot and the sword only to perish by famine. The whole domain was a waste. Houses, barns, furniture, implements of husbandry, herds, flocks, horses, were gone. Many months must elapse before the clan would be able to raise on its own ground the means of supporting even the most miserable existence.

THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

(A.D. 1692)

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

BEFORE the end of April the English fleet was ready to sail. Three noble ships, just launched from our dockyards, appeared for the first time on the water. William had been hastening the maritime preparations of the United Provinces; and his exertions had been successful. On the 29th of April a fine squadron from the Texel appeared in the Downs. Soon came the North Holland squadron, the Maes squadron, the Zealand squadron. The whole force of the confederate powers was assembled at Saint Helen's in the second week of May, more than ninety sail of the line, manned by between thirty and forty thousand of the finest seamen of the two great maritime nations. Russell had the chief command. He was assisted by Sir Ralph Delaval, Sir John Ashley, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Rear Admiral Carter, and Rear Admiral Rooke. Of the Dutch officers Van Almonde was the highest in rank.

Maritime preparations.

No mightier armament had ever appeared in the British Channel. There was little rea-

son for apprehending that such a force could be defeated in a fair conflict. Nevertheless, there was great uneasiness in London. It was known that there was a Jacobite party in the navy. Alarming rumors had worked their way round from France. It was said that the enemy reckoned on the co-operation of some of those officers on whose fidelity, in this crisis, the safety of the State might depend. Russell, as far as can now be discovered, was still unsuspected. But others, who were probably less criminal, had been more indiscreet. At all the coffee-houses admirals and captains were mentioned by name as traitors who ought to be instantly cashiered, if not shot. It was even confidently affirmed that some of the guilty had been put under arrest, and others turned out of the service. The Queen and her counsellors were in a great strait. It was not easy to say whether the danger of trusting the suspected persons or the danger of removing them were the greater. Mary, with many painful misgivings, resolved, and the event proved that she resolved wisely, to treat the evil reports as calumnious, to make a solemn appeal to the honor of the accused gentlemen, and then to trust the safety of her kingdom to their national and professional spirit.

Uneasiness in London.

Mary's wise conduct.

On the 15th of May a great assembly of officers was convoked at Saint Helen's on board the *Britannia,* a fine three-decker, from which Russell's flag was flying. The Admiral told

them that he had received a despatch which he was charged to read to them. It was from Nottingham. The Queen, the secretary wrote, had been informed that stories deeply affecting the character of the navy were in circulation. It had even been affirmed that she had found herself under the necessity of dismissing many officers. But Her Majesty was determined to believe nothing against those brave servants of the State. The gentlemen who had been so foully slandered might be assured that she placed entire reliance on them. This letter was admirably calculated to work on those to whom it was addressed. Very few of them probably had been guilty of any worse offence than rash and angry talk over their wine. They were as yet only grumblers. If they had fancied that they were marked men, they might, in self-defence, have become traitors. They became enthusiastically loyal as soon as they were assured that the Queen reposed entire confidence in their loyalty. They eagerly signed an address in which they entreated her to believe that they would, with the utmost resolution and alacrity, venture their lives in defence of her rights, of English freedom and of the Protestant religion, against all foreign and Popish invaders. "God," they added, "preserve your person, direct your counsels, and prosper your arms; and let all your people say Amen."

Its happy consequences.

The sincerity of these professions was soon

brought to the test. A few hours after the meeting on board of the *Britannia* the masts of Tourville's squadron were seen from the cliffs of Portland. One messenger galloped with the news from Weymouth to London, and roused Whitehall at three in the morning. Another took the coast road, and carried the intelligence to Russell. All was ready; and on the morning of the 17th of May the allied fleet stood out to sea.

The fleet set sail, May 17.

Tourville had with him only his own squadron, consisting of forty-four ships of the line. But he had received positive orders to protect the descent on England, and not to decline a battle. Though these orders had been given before it was known at Versailles that the Dutch and English fleets had joined, he was not disposed to take on himself the responsibility of disobedience. He still remembered with bitterness the reprimand which his extreme caution had drawn upon him after the fight of Beachy Head. He would not again be told that he was a timid and unenterprising commander, that he had no courage but the vulgar courage of a common sailor. He was also persuaded that the odds against him were rather apparent than real. He believed, on the authority of James and Melfort, that the English seamen, from the flag officers down to the cabin boys, were Jacobites. Those who fought would fight with half a heart; and there would probably be numerous desertions

Tourville's instructions

at the most critical moment. Animated by such hopes he sailed from Brest, steered first toward the northeast, came in sight of the coast of Dorsetshire, and then struck across the Channel toward La Hogue, where the army which he was to convoy to England had already begun to embark on board of the transports. He was within a few leagues of Barfleur when, before daybreak, on the morning of the 19th of May, he saw the great armament of the allies stretching along the eastern horizon. He determined to bear down on them. By eight the two lines of battle were formed; but it was eleven before the firing began. It soon became plain that the English, from the Admiral downward, were resolved to do their duty. Russell had visited all his ships, and exhorted all his crews. "If your commanders play false," he said, "overboard with them, and with myself the first." There was no defection. There was no slackness. Carter was the first who broke the French line. He was struck by a splinter of one of his own yardarms, and fell dying on the deck. He would not be carried below. He would not let go his sword. "Fight the ship," were his last words: "fight the ship as long as she can swim." The battle lasted till four in the afternoon. The roar of the guns was distinctly heard more than twenty miles off by the army which was encamped on the coast of Normandy. During the earlier part of the day

Tourville approaches La Hogue.

His vain hopes.

Russell's exhortations.

the wind was favorable to the French: they were opposed to half of the allied fleet; and against that half they maintained the conflict with their usual courage and with more than their usual seamanship. After a hard and doubtful fight of five hours, Tourville thought that enough had been done to maintain the honor of the white flag, and began to draw off. But by this time the wind had veered, and was with the allies. They were now able to avail themselves of their great superiority of force. They came on fast. The retreat of the French became a flight. Tourville fought his own ship desperately. She was named, in allusion to Lewis's favorite emblem, the *Royal Sun*, and was widely renowned as the finest vessel in the world. It was reported among the English sailors that she was adorned with an image of the Great King, and that he appeared there, as he appeared in the Place of Victories, with vanquished nations in chains beneath his feet. The gallant ship, surrounded by enemies, lay like a great fortress on the sea, scattering death on every side from her hundred and four portholes. She was so formidably manned that all attempts to board her failed. Long after sunset, she got clear of her assailants, and, with all her scuppers spouting blood, made for the coast of Normandy. She had suffered so much that Tourville hastily removed his flag to a ship of ninety guns which was named the *Ambitious*.

Tourville's retreat.

The *Royal Sun*.

By this time his fleet was scattered far over the sea. About twenty of his smallest ships made their escape by a road which was too perilous for any courage but the courage of despair. In the double darkness of night and of a thick sea fog, they ran, with all their sails spread, through the boiling waves and treacherous rocks of the Race of Alderney, and, by a strange good fortune, arrived without a single disaster at Saint Maloes. The pursuers did not venture to follow the fugitives into that terrible strait, the place of innumerable shipwrecks. Flight of the French.

Those French vessels which were too bulky to venture into the Race of Alderney fled to the havens of the Cotentin. The *Royal Sun* and two other three-deckers reached Cherburg in safety. The *Ambitious,* with twelve other ships, all first rates or second rates, took refuge in the Bay of La Hogue, close to the headquarters of the army of James.

The three ships which had fled to Cherburg were closely chased by an English squadron under the command of Delaval. He found them hauled up into shoal water where no large man-of-war could get at them. He therefore determined to attack them with his fireships and boats. The service was gallantly and successfully performed. In a short time the *Royal Sun* and her two consorts were burned to ashes. Part of the crews escaped to shore, part fell into the hands of the English. Boat and fire-ship attack.

La Hogue blockaded.

Meanwhile Russell with the greater part of his victorious fleet had blockaded the port of La Hogue. Here, as at Cherburg, the French men-of-war had been drawn up into shallow water. They lay close to the camp of the army which was destined for the invasion of England. Six of them were moored under a fort named Lisset. The rest lay under the guns of another fort named Saint Vaast, where James had fixed his headquarters, and where the Union flag, variegated by the crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew, hung by the side of the white flag of France. Marshal Bellefonds had planted several batteries which, it was thought, would deter the boldest enemy from approaching either Fort Lisset or Fort Saint Vaast. James, however,

James is ill at ease.

who knew something of English seamen, was not perfectly at ease, and proposed to send strong bodies of soldiers on board of the ships. But Tourville would not consent to put such a slur on his profession.

Russell meanwhile was preparing for an attack. On the afternoon of the 23d of May all was ready. A flotilla consisting of sloops, of fireships, and of two hundred boats, was intrusted to the command of Rooke. The whole armament was in the highest spirits. The rowers, flushed by success, and animated by the thought that they were going to fight under the eyes of the French and Irish troops who had been assembled for the purpose of

subjugating England, pulled manfully and with loud huzzas toward the six huge wooden castles which lay close to Fort Lisset. The French, though an eminently brave people, have always been more liable to sudden panics than their phlegmatic neighbors the English and Germans. On this day there was a panic both in the fleet and in the army. Tourville ordered his sailors to man their boats, and would have led them to encounter the enemy in the bay. But his example and his exhortations were vain. His boats turned round and fled in confusion. The ships were abandoned. The cannonade from Fort Lisset was so feeble and ill directed that it did no execution. The regiments on the beach, after wasting a few musket shots, drew off. The English boarded the men-of-war, set them on fire, and having performed this great service without the loss of a single life, retreated at a late hour with the retreating tide. The bay was in a blaze during the night; and now and then a loud explosion announced that the flames had reached a powder room or a tier of loaded guns. At eight the next morning the tide came back strong; and with the tide came back Rooke and his two hundred boats. The enemy made a faint attempt to defend the vessels which were near Fort Saint Vaast. During a few minutes the batteries did some execution among the crews of our skiffs; but the struggle was soon over. The French poured

Rooke's boat attack.

Capture of the French ships.

fast out of their ships on one side: the English poured in as fast on the other, and, with loud shouts, turned the captured guns against the shore. The batteries were speedily silenced. James and Melfort, Bellefonds and Tourville, looked on in helpless despondency while the second conflagration proceeded. The conquerors, leaving the ships of war in flames, made their way into an inner basin where many transports lay. Eight of these vessels were set on fire. Several were taken in tow. The rest would have been either destroyed or carried off, had not the sea again begun to ebb. It was impossible to do more; and the victorious flotilla slowly retired, insulting the hostile camp with a thundering chant of "God save the King."

Renewed triumph.

Thus ended, at noon on the 24th of May, the great conflict which had raged during five days over a wide extent of sea and shore. One English fireship had perished in its calling. Sixteen French men-of-war, all noble vessels, and eight of them three-deckers, had been sunk or burned down to the keel. The battle is called, from the place where it terminated, the battle of La Hogue.

Significance of the victory.

The news was received in London with boundless exultation. In the fight on the open sea, indeed, the numerical superiority of the allies had been so great that they had little reason to boast of their success. But the courage and skill with which the crews of the En-

glish boats had, in a French harbor, in sight of a French army, and under the fire of French batteries, destroyed a fine French fleet, amply justified the pride with which our fathers pronounced the name of La Hogue. That we may fully enter into their feelings, we must remember that this was the first great check that had ever been given to the arms of Lewis the Fourteenth, and the first great victory that the English had gained over the French since the day of Agincourt. The stain left on our fame by the shameful defeat of Beachy Head was effaced. This time the glory was all our own. The Dutch had indeed done their duty, as they have always done it in maritime war, whether fighting on our side or against us, whether victorious or vanquished. But the English had borne the brunt of the fight. Russell, who commanded in chief, was an Englishman. Delaval, who directed the attack on Cherburg, was an Englishman. Rooke, who led the flotilla into the Bay of La Hogue, was an Englishman. The only two officers of note who had fallen, Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings of the *Sandwich,* were Englishmen. Yet the pleasure with which the good news was received here must not be ascribed solely or chiefly to national pride. The island was safe. The pleasant pastures, cornfields and commons of Hampshire and Surrey would not be the seat of war. The houses and gardens, the kitchens and dairies, the cellars and

Reception of the news in London.

National safety.

plate chests, the wives and daughters of our gentry and clergy would not be at the mercy of Irish Rapparees, who had sacked the dwellings and skinned the cattle of the Englishry of Leinster, or of French dragoons accustomed to live at free quarters on the Protestants of Auvergne. Whigs and Tories joined in thanking God for this great deliverance; and the most respectable nonjurors could not but be glad at heart that the rightful King was not to be brought back by an army of foreigners.

Thanksgiving of Whigs and Tories.

[In 1692, a witch persecution starts in Salem; Luxembourg defeats King William at Steenkirke. In 1693, the French destroy the Smyrna merchant fleet and gain successes against the allies, and the Palatinate is ravaged; a terrible eruption of Etna and earthquake in Sicily nearly destroys Messina, Syracuse and Catania; Dieppe, Havre-du-Grace and Dunkirk are bombarded. The English Parliament passes the Triennial Act; the Czar Peter employs a Dutch shipwright to build him a vessel at Archangel; and the University of Halle is established. In 1694, the French Academy publishes its Dictionary. William forms the Junto and thus originates the Cabinet system in England. The Bank of England is founded. Königsmarck, the lover of Sophia Dorothea, wife of George of Hanover, is murdered. In 1695, William gains the greatest

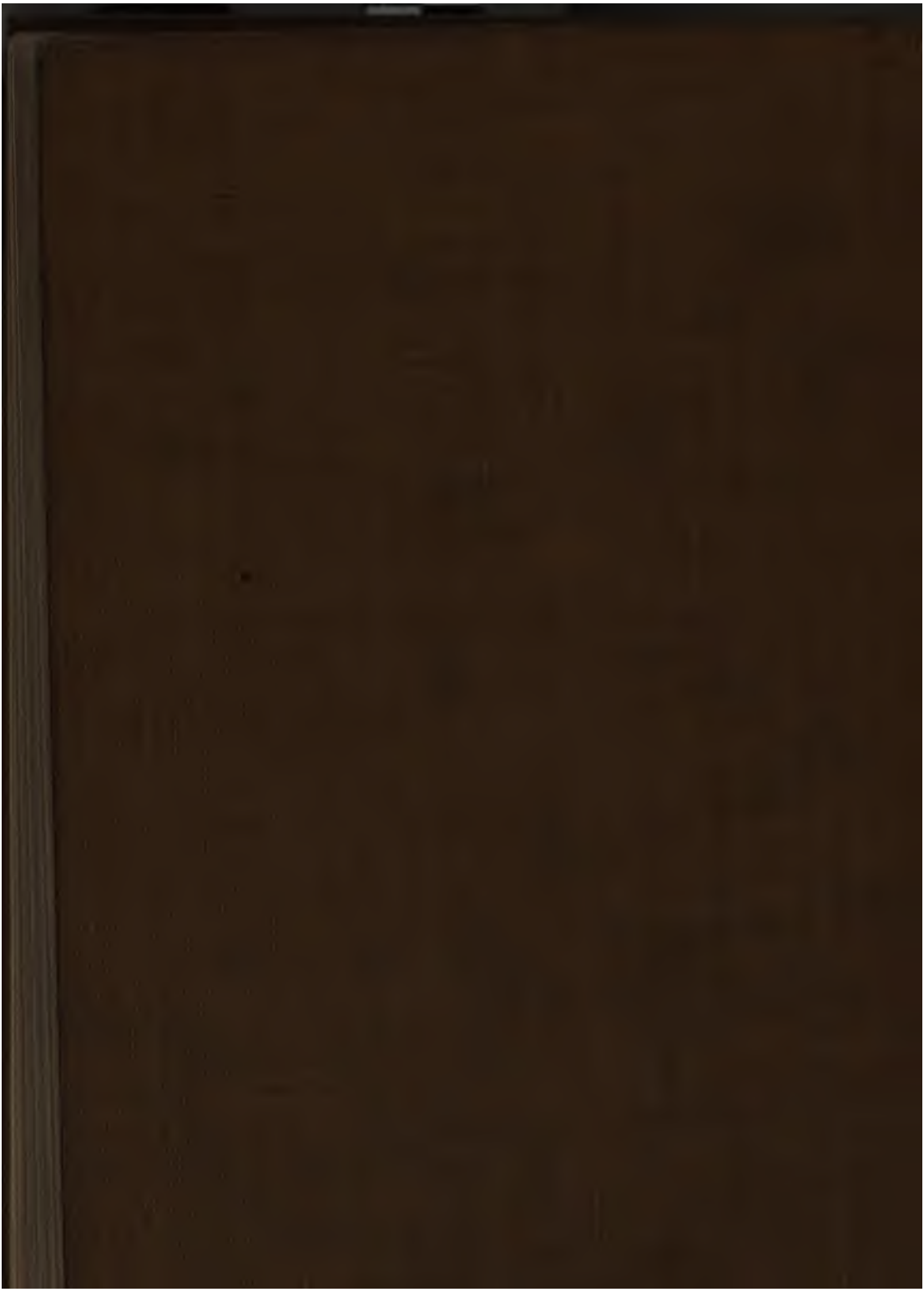
Bank of England founded.

success of his life in the capture of Namur. The Turks defeat a Venetian fleet and the Imperials on land. In 1696, a plot against William's life greatly strengthens his position; the Eddystone lighthouse is built. In 1697, the Peace of Ryswick is signed. Prince Eugene defeats the Turks at Zenta. Charles XI. of Sweden dies and is succeeded by his son, Charles XII. Peter the Czar travels in Europe and works as a ship-carpenter in Holland. In 1698, the partition of the Spanish monarchy is settled by a treaty between Great Britain, France and the United Provinces; a Scotch colony is established on the Isthmus of Darien; Peter returns to Russia and disbands the rebellious Strelitz guards; the Society for Propagating Christianity is formed in London. The treaty of Carlowitz concludes peace with the Turks. In 1699, Christian V. of Denmark dies and his son, Frederic IV., joins Poland and Russia in a league against Sweden. Peter introduces the computation of time by the Christian Era into Russia. In 1700, Louis XIV. proclaims his grandson king of Spain as Philip V.; Charles XII. defeats the Russians at Nerva; Peter proclaims himself the head of the Russian Church and abolishes the patriarchate. Captain Kidd is convicted of piracy and executed in 1701; the Elector of Brandenburg assumes the title of Frederick I., King of Prussia. In 1702, Charles XII. victoriously invades Po-

Peter the Great a ship-carpenter.

Peter becomes head of the Russian Church

land; the King of Prussia abolishes serfdom, founds the order of the Black Eagle, and founds the Academy of Berlin under Leibnitz. England and Portugal form the Methuen treaty of commerce in 1703; and the Archduke of Austria assumes the title of Charles III., King of Spain, and is supported by the English, Dutch and Portuguese. Peter lays the foundation of St. Petersburg; the Janizaries revolt. Gibraltar surrenders to Sir George Rooke in 1704.]

St. Petersburg is founded.

END OF VOLUME THREE